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THE HISTORY OF HINDOSTAN;

TRANSLATED FROM THE PERSIAN.

THE SECOND EDITION,

REVISED, ALTERED, CORRECTED, AND GREATLY ENLARGED.

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408

CONTENTS

OF THE

SECOND VOLUME.

INVASION of TIMUR-BEC, - -	Page 1
CHIZER, - - - -	20
MUBARICK II. - - -	25
MAHOMMED V. - -	39
ALLA II. - - -	46
BELOLI, - - -	50
SECUNDER I. - - -	64
IBRAHIM II. - - -	79
BABER, - - - -	87
HUMAIOON, - - -	139
SHERE, - - -	159
SELIM, - - -	182
MAHOMMED VI. - - -	193
IBRAHIM III. - - -	196
HUMAIOON in Persia, - -	201
AKBAR, - - - -	215
THE DECLINE OF THE MOGUL EMPIRE, -	303
MAHOMMED, - - -	307
AHMED, - - - -	351
ALLUMGIRE II. - -	360
SHAW ALLUM, - - -	371
PRESENT STATE OF HINDOSTAN, - -	381

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THE HISTORY OF HINDOSTAN.

INVASION OF TIMUR-BEC.

TIMUR-BEC, being informed of the commotions and civil wars of India, began his expedition into that country, in the eight hundredth year of the Higerah, and, on the twelfth of Mohirrim, in the following year, arrived on the banks of the Chule Jallali, one of the most westerly branches of the Indus. He immediately dispatched Noor ul Dien to dispossess Mubarick, who, on the part of the king of Delhi, had, in charge, the defence of the frontier districts. When Noor ul Dien had arrived within a few miles of Mubarick, he summoned him to submit to Timur. But as the imperial general had previously retreated into a strong hold, on the bank of the river, round which he had drawn a ditch, forming the place into an island, he determined to defend himself to the last.

A. D. 1327. Higerah 801. Tamerlane invades Hindostan.

A. D. 1397. Hig. 801.

Noor ul Dien, however, found means, upon making his approaches, to fill up the ditch: but at night he suffered a considerable loss, by a violent sally of the besieged; whom, in the end, he repulsed, and forced to take shelter within the walls. Timur himself advanced against the enemy, with his whole army. Mubarick, intimidated by the approach of Timur, stowed privately, in forty boats, his treasure and family, and fell down the river, being two days pursued in vain, by Noor ul Dien, who was detached with a party after him. The garrison, after the departure of their leader, immediately surrendered.

Tamerlane lays Tulmubini under contribution.

Timur proceeded down the river to the conflux of the Jimboo and Chinab, where there was a strong fort and town, known by the name of Tulmubini. He ordered a bridge to be laid across the river, by which his army might pass. Having pitched his camp, without the town, he laid it under a heavy contribution. But whilst the inhabitants were very busy in collecting the sum demanded, a complaint being made in the camp, of the scarcity of provisions, orders were issued to seize grain wherever it should be found. The soldiers, upon this, hastened to search the town, but not being content to take provisions alone, the natural consequence was, that a general plunder ensued. The inhabitants, endeavouring to oppose this outrage, were massacred without mercy.

Shawnawaze pillaged.

To besiege the citadel would but retard the designs of Timur. He therefore marched, the next day after the massacre, to a town called Shawnawaze, where he found more grain than was sufficient to serve his whole army. He therefore ordered, that what could not be carried away should be burnt; having previously cut off Jisserit, the brother of the prince of the Gickers, who had attempted to defend the place with two thousand men. Timur marched, on the third day, from Shawnawaze, and, crossing the Bea, came into a rich and plentiful country.

It may not be improper here to ſay ſomething concerning the proceedings of the prince, the grandſon of Timur, Pier Mahommed, after his having, as has been already mentioned, taken Moultan. The Solſtitial rains having deſtroyed a great part of his cavalry, in the field, he was under the neceſſity of drawing his army into the city of Moultan. There he was driven to the utmoſt diſtreſs by the inhabitants of the country, who had cloſely inveſted him. His cavalry, inſtead of being able to act againſt them, diminiſhed daily in their numbers, for want of forage.

A. D. 1397. Hig. 801.

Pier Mahommed blockaded in Moultan.

In this untoward ſituation were the affairs of that prince, when his grandfather entered Hindoſtan. Timur immediately reinforced Mahommed with a detachment of thirty thouſand choſen horſe, and ſoon after joined him with his whole army. The prince carried in his mind great animoſity againſt the governor of Battenize, who had chiefly diſtreſſed him. Timur, to chaſtiſe the governor, ſelected ten thouſand horſe, with which he marched directly towards him. When he reached Adjodin, he was ſhewn the tomb of the learned Ferid, the poet, in reſpect to whoſe memory he ſpared the few inhabitants who remained in the place, the greater part having fled to Delhi and Battenize.

Is relieved by Timur,

Timur continued then his march to Battenize, croſſing the river of Adjodin, and encamping at Chaliſkole, from which place, in one day, he marched one hundred miles to Battenize. Upon his arrival, the people of Debalpoor, and other adjacent towns, crowded into the place, in ſuch numbers, that half of them were driven out, and obliged to take ſhelter under the walls. They were there attacked, the firſt day, by the king, and ſome thouſands of them ſlain. Raw Chilligi, who was governor of the place, ſeeing the enemy ſo few in number, drew out the garriſon, and formed

who arrives at Battenize,

and inveſts it.

A. D. 1397. Hig. 801.

them without the town, in order of battle. The Moguls, however, upon the firſt onſet, drove him back within his walls, while the king, in perſon, preſſed ſo hard upon the enemy's rear, that he poſſeſſed himſelf of the gates before they could be ſhut. Then driving the runaways from ſtreet to ſtreet, he became, in a few hours, intirely maſter of the place, except the citadel; to reduce which, he ordered a party immediately to diſmount, and begin to undermine it.

The city taken,

The garriſon deſired to capitulate, to which Timur agreed; and the governor, having had an interview with the king, preſented him with three hundred Arabian horſes, and with many of the valuable curioſities of Hindoſtan. Timur, in return, honoured him with a chelat; and after the conditions were ſettled, ſent Soliman, Sheh, and Omar Ulla, to take poſſeſſion of the gates, commanding them to ſlay all thoſe who had taken refuge in the place, and had before been active againſt his grandſon Mahommed. The reſt, after being plundered, were ordered to be diſmiſſed.

and the inhabitants put to the ſword.

In conſequence of this inhuman order, five hundred perſons, in a few minutes, were put to death. Thoſe who remained ſtill within the fort, were ſo ſtruck with this maſſacre, that they ſet fire to the place, murdered their wives and children, and, in mere deſpair, ſought after nothing but revenge and death. The ſcene now became terrible! but the unfortunate inhabitants were, in the end, cut off to a man; they however revenged themſelves amply, upon the rapacious and inhuman authors of their diſtreſs; ſome thouſands of the Moguls having fallen by their hands. This ſo much exaſperated Timur, that firebrand of the world, that he ordered every ſoul in Battenize to be maſſacred, and to reduce the city itſelf to aſhes.

Timur,

A. D. 1397.
Hig. 801.

Several cities taken by Timur, and the inhabitants maſſacred.

Timur, marching to Suruſti, put the inhabitants of that place, alſo, to the ſword, and gave the town up to pillage. Advancing to Fatteabad, he continued the ſame ſcene of barbarity, through that, and the adjacent towns of Rahib, Amirani, and Jonah. He detached Hakîm Agherâck towards Sammana, with five thouſand horſe, and with the few that remained, he himſelf ſcoured the country, and cut off a tribe of banditti called Jits, who had lived for ſome years by rapine. His army, in the mean time, being divided under different chiefs, carried fire and ſword through all the provinces of Moultan and Lahore, but when they advanced near the capital, he ordered a general rendezvous at Keitil, a town within ten miles of Sammana.

Arrives before Delhi,

which he reconnoitres.

Timur himſelf ſoon joined his army, and having regulated the order of his march, advanced towards Delhi. When he reached Panniput, he ordered his ſoldiers to put on their fighting apparel *; and, that he might be the better ſupplied with forage, croſſed the Jumna, took the fort of Lowni by aſſault, and put the garriſon to the ſword. He then marched down along the river, and encamped oppoſite to the citadel of Delhi, poſting guards to prevent all communication. He immediately detached Soliman and Jehan to ſcour the country behind him to the ſouth and ſouth eaſt of the city; whilſt he himſelf that very day, with ſeven hundred horſe only, croſſed the river to reconnoitre the citadel.

The King of Delhi and his miniſter, Eckbal, ſeeing ſo few in the retinue of Timur, iſſued forth with five thouſand foot and twenty-ſeven elephants againſt him. Sillif, an Omrah of repute in Delhi, who led on the attack, was repulſed and taken priſoner by the Moguls. Timur ordered him to be immediately beheaded,

* Coats ſtuffed thick with cotton, worn inſtead of armour.

and

A. D. 1397. Hig. 801.

and after having made the obſervations which he had intended, repaſſed the river and joined his army.

He next morning moved his camp more to the eaſtward, where he was told, by the princes and generals of his army, that there were then above one hundred thouſand priſoners in his camp, who had been taken ſince he croſſed the Indus; that theſe unfortunate perſons had, the day before, expreſſed great joy, when they ſaw him attacked before the citadel; which rendered it extremely probable, that, on a day of battle, they would join with their countrymen againſt him. The inhuman Timur, who might have found other means of prevention, gave orders to put all above the age of fifteen to the ſword, ſo that, upon that horrid day, one hundred thouſand men were maſſacred, in cold blood. This barbarity, together with his other actions of equal cruelty, gained him the name of Hillâk Chan, or the deſtroying Prince. Upon the fifth of the firſt Jemmad, Timur forded the river with his army without oppoſition, and encamped on the plains of the city of Firoſe, a p[illegible] of Delhi; where he entrenched himſelf, filling the ditch with buffaloes fronting the enemy. He faſtened the buffaloes with ropes and picquets to their ſtations, placing, at the ſame time, ſtrong guards, at proper diſtances, behind them.

He maſſacres 100,000 priſoners in cold blood,

Though the aſtrologers pronounced the ſeventh an unlucky day, the king marched out of his lines, and drew up his army in order of battle. King Mahmood and Eckbal, with the army of Delhi, and one hundred and twenty elephants in mail, advanced towards him. But upon the very firſt charge of a ſquadron, called the Heroes of Chighitta, the elephant-drivers were diſmounted, and the outrageous animals, deprived of their guides, ran roaring back, and ſpread terror and confuſion among their own ranks. The

veteran

veteran troops of Timur, who had already conquered half the world, improved this advantage, and the degenerate Hindoos were, in a few minutes, totally routed, without making one brave effort for their country, lives, and fortunes. The conqueror pursued them, with great slaughter, to the very gates of Delhi, near which he fixed his quarters.

A. D. 1397. Hig. 801.

totally defeats the enemy,

The consternation of the fugitives was so great, that, not trusting to their walls, Mahmood and his minister deserted, in the night, their capital; the former flying to Guzerat, the latter taking the route of Berren. Timur, having intelligence of their flight, detached parties after them, one of which coming up with Mahmood, killed a great number of his retinue, and took his two infant sons, Seif ul Dien and Choda Daad, prisoners. Timur received the submission of all the great men of the city, who crowded to his camp, and were promised protection upon paying great contributions; and, upon the Friday following, he ordered the royal proclamation and titles to be read in his own name in all the mosques. Upon the sixteenth of the same month he placed guards at the gates, and appointed the scriveners of the city, and magistrates, to regulate the contribution according to the wealth and rank of the inhabitants. Information was, in the mean time, lodged, that several omrahs and rich men had shut themselves up in their houses, with their dependents, and refused to pay down their share of the ransom. This obliged Timur to send troops into the city, to enforce the authority of the magistrates. A general confusion, uproar, and plundering, immediately ensued, which could not be restrained by the Mogul officers, who, at the same time, durst not acquaint the king that their authority was contemned by the troops.

who desert the city.

Timur, according to his custom after success, was then busy in his camp, in celebrating a grand festival, on account of his victory, so

D. 1397. g. 801.

ſo that it was five days before he received any intelligence of theſe proceedings. The firſt notice he had of them, was by the flames of the city; for the Hindoos, according to their manner, ſeeing their wives and daughters raviſhed and polluted, their wealth ſeized by the hand of rapine, and they themſelves inſulted, beat, and abuſed, at length, with one conſent, ſhut the city gates, ſet fire to their houſes, murthered their wives and children, and ran out like madmen againſt their enemies.

A general maſſacre in Delhi.

But little effect had the deſpair of the unfortunate upon the Moguls, who ſoon collected themſelves, and began a general maſſacre. Some ſtreets were rendered impaſſable, by the heaps of dead: and, in the mean time, the gates being forced, the whole Mogul army were admitted. Then followed a ſcene of horror, much eaſier to be imagined than deſcribed. The deſperate courage of the unfortunate Delhians, was at length cooled in their own blood. They threw down their weapons, they ſubmitted themſelves like ſheep to the ſlaughter. They permitted one man to drive a hundred of them priſoners before him; ſo that we may plainly perceive, that cowardice is the mother of deſpair. In the city, the Hindoos were, at leaſt, ten to one, ſuperior in number to the enemy, and had they poſſeſſed ſouls, it would have been impoſſible for the Moguls, who were ſcattered about in every ſtreet, houſe, and corner, laden with plunder, to have reſiſted the dreadful aſſault. But though the Indians had the ſavage reſolution of imbruing their hands in the blood of their wives and children, we find them ſtill the ſlaves of fear, and ſhrinking at the approach of that death, which they could ſo readily execute upon others.

Another account of the maſſacre in Delhi.

This maſſacre is, in the Hiſtory of Nizam, otherwiſe related. The collectors of the ranſom, ſays he, upon the part of Timur, having

having ufed great violence, by torture and other means, to extort money, the citizens fell upon them, and killed fome of the Moguls. This circumftance being reported to the Mogul king, he ordered a general pillage, and, upon refiftance, a maffacre to commence. This account carries greater appearance of truth along with it, both from Timur's general character of cruelty, and the improbability of his being five days clofe to the city without having intelligence of what paffed within the walls. But the imperial race of Timur take, to this day, great pains to invalidate this opinion, nor do they want arguments on their fide. The principal one is this, that, in confequence of a general plunder, the king would have been deprived of the ranfom, which muft have been exceedingly great, and for which he only received the elephants and regalia. Neither have we any account of hi taking any part of the plunder from his army afterwards, though it muft have been very immenfe. A. D. 1397. Hig. 801.

The king, after this horrid fcene, entered the city, taking to himfelf one hundred and twenty elephants, twelve rhinocerofes, and a number of curious animals, that had been collected by the emperor Ferofe. The fine mofque, built by that prince, upon the ftones of which he had infcribed the hiftory of his reign, being efteemed a mafter-piece of architecture and tafte, took fo much the fancy of the conqueror, that he ordered ftone-cutters and mafons from Delhi to Samarcand, to build one upon the fame plan. Timur enters Delhi.

After having ftayed fifteen days at Delhi, Timur took a fudden refolution of returning, and he accordingly marched out to Firofeabad, whither the Indian governor of Mewat fent him two white parrots, as curiofities, with profeffions of fubjection. The king fent Seid Turmuzi to bring him to the prefence, which fummons Refolves to return.

A. D. 1397. Hig. 801.

he immediately obeyed; and Chizer †, who had lain concealed in the hills, appeared in the royal presence, and was favorably received.

Arrives at Paniput.

The king marching from Firoseabad arrived at Paniput, from whence he detached Amir Shaw, to besiege Merat, a strong fort, situated between the rivers, about sixty miles from Delhi. When Amir Shaw reached the place, upon reconnoitring its strength, and finding the garrison determined to defend it, he mentioned in a letter to the king, that they insulted him from the walls, by telling him he could succeed no better than Seri, the Mogul prince, who had formerly attempted to take the place.

Besieges and takes Merat.

This had the desired effect upon the king, who immediately marched his army against Merat, and, without delay, began to sink his mines, and carry on his approaches; advancing his sap towards the walls, at the rate of fifteen yards every twenty-four hours. Elias Adyhuni, the son of Moluna, Ahmud, and Suffi, defended the place with great resolution. But the Moguls having filled up the ditch, placed their scaling ladders, and fastened their hook-ropes to the wall, in spite of all opposition; and, without waiting for a breach by means of the mines, stormed the place, and put every soul within it to the sword. The mines, however, being finished, the king ordered them to be sprung, which blew the walls and bastions into pieces.

His progress towards the head of the Ganges.

Timur continued his march to the skirts of the mountains of Sewalic, marking his way with fire and sword. Crossing, then, the Ganges, he subdued the country as high as where the river issues from the mountains; returning from thence, he repassed

† Afterwards Emperor.

the

A. D. 1397. Hig. 801.

the river, and marched through the hills, where he was opposed by an Indian zemindar, whom he defeated and plundered. He then continued his rout, taking several small forts in his way; having arrived at Jimmugur, he fought the raja of that place, who was wounded, taken, and forced to become a Mussulman.

Lahore taken.

Jisserit, the brother of the prince of Gickers, who had fled to him after his being defeated by Timur, had by his brother been severely reprimanded for opposing the king; which having been represented to Timur, the prince was admitted into his presence, and became a great favorite. But when the king had marched on to Delhi, he remembered not his obedience, and in the absence of Timur possessed himself of Lahore. The king having returned to Jimbo,* the Gicker refused to submit to his authority. The Sultan sent part of his army to besiege Lahore, which being taken in a few days, the prince was brought prisoner to the king, who ordered him to be instantly beheaded.

We do not find that Timur appointed any king to govern Hindostan, which he had in a great measure subdued. He, however, confirmed the subas, who had submitted to him, in their governments; and, from this circumstance, we may suppose, that he intended to retain the empire in his own name; though he left no troops behind him, except a small detachment in Delhi, to secure it from further depredations. While he remained at Jimbo, he appointed Chizer viceroy of Moultan, Lahore, and Dibalpoor, then proceeded, by the way of Cabul, to Samarcand.

The city of Delhi had remained in anarchy for the space of two months after the departure of Timur, when it was taken possession of by the pretended emperor Nuserit, with only two thousand horse,

* A fort in Punjaab, three days journey north of Lahore.

 from

A. D. 1398. Hig. 801.

from Merat. Two chiefs, Shab and Almafs, with their troops and ten elephants, joined him foon after from the fame place; Nurferit fent immediately Shab, with his troops, towards Birren, againft Eckbal, who had there taken up his refidence. But Shab was attacked, in the night, upon his march, by the zemindars in the intereft of Eckbal, and flain; Eckbal purfuing this advantage, took all the baggage of Shab's army.

Eckbal recovers Delhi.

This fuccefs raifing the reputation as well as fpirits of Eckbal, he, in a few days, thought himfelf in a condition to make an attempt upon the capital, which he did with fuccefs; for Nuferit, upon his approach, fled to Merat; and Eckbal refumed the adminiftration of affairs in the ruined city. The inhabitants, who had fled to different places, having ftill a natural hankering after their old abode, began to affemble again, and the place, in a fhort time, put on the appearance of populoufnefs, efpecially the quarter called the New City.

The Subas revolt from the empire.

Eckbal poffeffed himfelf foon of the country between the two rivers, which, with a fmall diftrict round the city, was all that now held of the capital. The fubas had rendered themfelves independant, in their own governments, during the misfortunes and confufion of the empire. Guzerat was feized upon by Azim; — Malava by Delawir; — Kinnoge, Oud, Kurrah, and Jionpoor, by Chaja Jehan, commonly called the King of the Eaft; — Lahore, Dibalpoor, and Moultan, by Chizer; — Sammana by Ghalil; — Brana by Shumfe; — Mahoba by Mahommed, the fon of Malleck, and grandfon of Ferofe; and fo on with regard to the other provinces, the governors afferting their own independence, and ftiling themfelves Kings.

A. D. 1400. Hig. 803. Eckbal defeats Shumfe.

In the month of the firft Jemmad, 803, Eckbal marched with an army from Delhi towards Biana, and defeated Shumfe;

2 whofe

whose troops joining him, he proceeded to Kittar, and after having levied a great contribution upon the territory of Narsing, returned to Delhi. Intelligence was soon after brought him, that Chaja Jehan was dead at Jionpoor, and that his adopted son, Kirrinphil, having assumed the title of the Emperor Mubarick, held that government. Eckbal having gained over to his interest Shumse, governor of Biana, Mubarick and Bahadre of Mewat, marched the same year against Kirrinphil. A. D. 1400. Hig. 803.

When he had reached the village of Pattiali, upon the banks of the Ganges, Rai Seri, and all the zemindars of that country, opposed him; but he defeated them, with great slaughter. After this victory, he marched to Kinnoge, with an intention to proceed to Jionpoor, and from thence to Bengal. Upon his march, however, he was met by Kirrinphil, who opposed his crossing the Ganges so effectually, that, after repeated efforts for two months, he was forced to abandon the undertaking, and to return to his own country. But the perfidious Eckbal, entertaining some groundless suspicions of Shumse and Mubarick, assassinated them both upon their way back to their own governments. Frustrated in his designs upon Jionpoor.

The emperor Mahmood, in the year 804, being disgusted with Ziffer, governor of Guzerat, fled from him to Malava, and soon after, by the invitation of Eckbal, returned to Delhi. He, however, contented himself with a pension, fearing that his interfering in the government would prove fatal to him. Advice being arrived, that Kirrinphil, or, as he stiled himself, Mubarick, was dead, at Jionpoor, Eckbal, taking along with him the Emperor Mahmood, marched again towards Kinnoge; upon which, Ibrahim, the brother of Mubarick, who had mounted the throne, advanced with the troops of the East to meet him. Mahmood returns to Delhi.

When

A. D. 1401. Hig. 804. His folly.

When the armies were near one another, Mahmood, diſſatisfied with his condition, and having the folly to imagine that Ibrahim would acknowledge him king, and abdicate the throne of the Eaſtern provinces for his ſake, eſcaped, one day, when he was out hunting, to the army of Ibrahim. But when that prince learned the intentions of Mahmood, he even with-held from him the neceſſaries of life, and intimated to him to quit the camp. Mahmood returned, in great diſtreſs, to Kinnoge, and was left, by Eckbal, in the government of that city; the governor, who was formerly there on the part of Ibrahim, being driven out. Ibrahim, however, put up with this inſult, and returned to Jionpoor, while Eckbal retired to Delhi.

Made governor of Kinnoge.

Eckbal marches againſt Gualier,

In the year 805, Eckbal marched againſt Gualier, which had fallen into the hands of Narſing, during the invaſion of Timur, and had now, upon Narſing's death, deſcended to his ſon, Byram Deo. The fort being very ſtrong, he could effect nothing againſt it, but plundering the diſtrict around, he returned to Delhi. Brooking ill, however, this diſappointment, he, in a ſhort time, marched a ſecond time againſt Gualier. Byram Deo ſallied out of the place, and engaged Eckbal, but he was ſoon driven back into the fort, the ſiege of which Eckbal was again obliged to raiſe; and having plundered the country as before, he returned to Delhi.

Atava,

Eckbal, in the year 807, drew an army towards Atava, and having, in ſeveral battles, defeated the Hindoo chief of Sibbiri, the prince of Gualier, the raja of Jallar, and others, who poſſeſſed that country, he raiſed contributions there. He then turned his arms againſt the nominal emperor Mahmood, in Kinnoge. The Sultan ſhut himſelf up in the city, and Eckbal inveſted it for ſome time, but, not being able to reduce the place, he raiſed the ſiege, and marched towards Sammana.

and Kinnoge.

Byram,

I

Byram, a descendant of one of the Turkish slaves of the emperor Ferose, had fixed himself in Sammana, and, upon the approach of Eckbal, had fled to the hills of Budhoor; Eckbal closely pursuing him, encamped at the skirts of the mountains. Alim came to mediate matters, and a peace was soon patched up between the contending parties, and both joining their forces together, marched towards Moultan, against Chizer. At Tilbundi they were opposed by Rai Daood, Camal Mai, and Rai Hubbu, chiefs in the northern provinces, who were defeated and taken prisoners. The perfidious Eckbal, after this victory, without any apparent reason, except a desire of aggrandizing himself, seized upon Byram, and ordered him to be flay'd alive. The death of Byram did not remain long unrevenged. Eckbal arriving near Adjoudin, Chizer met him, with the troops of Moultan, Punjaab, and Dibalpoor, and, upon the nineteenth of the first Jemmad, the two armies engaged; Eckbal was slain, and the world was happily rid of a perfidious and cruel villain.

A. D. 1404. Hig. 807.

Byram is flay'd alive.

Eckbal Ch[illegible] slain.

Dowlat Lodi, and Actiar, who commanded in Delhi, being informed of this event, called the emperor Mahmood from Kinnoge. Mahmood, coming with a small retinue to Delhi, reassumed the throne; but, laying aside any further efforts to reduce Moultan, he sent Dowlat with an army against Byram, who, upon the death of the former Byram, possessed himself of Sammana. The emperor himself returned back, in the mean time, to Kinnoge; Ibrahim marched against him, and, after some skirmishes, obliged him to retreat to Delhi. The Sultan's spiritless behaviour lost him the affections of his troops, and they accordingly, with one consent, dispersed themselves. Ibrahim having received intelligence of this desertion, crossed the Ganges, and marched towards Delhi, with great expedition. When he had

Sultan Mahmood restored.

Flies from Kinnoge. Pursued by Sultan Ibrahim.

A. D. 1406. Hig. 809.

had reached the banks of the Jumna, he heard that Azim, of Guzerat, had defeated and taken Alip, Suba of Mindu, and the country of Malava, and was then upon his march towards Jionpoor. Upon which he immediately retreated, to cover the capital of his dominions.

Byram defeated by Lodi.

In the month of Rigib, 810, Dowlat Lodi and Byram came to battle near Sammana. Byram was defeated, and ſurrendered himſelf to Dowlat; but before the latter had enjoyed any fruits of his victory, he was himſelf beat back to Delhi, by Chizer. Mahmood, in the following year, marched againſt Keiwan, who, upon the part of Chizer, commanded the fort of Firoſa. The emperor, after levying contributions, returned; and Chizer, upon the advice of theſe tranſactions, marched againſt Delhi, and beſieged Mahmood, who was neither a warrior nor a politician, in that part of the city which is diſtinguiſhed by the name of the city of Firoſe. But fortune, for this time, ſupplied the want of abilities in Mahmood, for Chizer being in want of forage and grain, was obliged to raiſe the ſiege, and retire to Fattipoor.

The emperor ſieged in Firoſeabad.

Chizer beſieges Mahmood in Delhi.

Chizer, in the beginning of the year 814, returned by the way of Rhotuc, a country then in the poſſeſſion of Sultan Mahmood, where Ecteriz and Mubariz, the governors of that country, declining hoſtilities, ſubmitted to his pleaſure. He plundered the town of Narnoul, and again advanced to Delhi; Mahmood ſhut himſelf up in the old citadel of Seri, which Chizer immediately beſieged. Achtiar, who commanded in Firoſeabad, ſeeing the affairs of Mahmood in a deſperate ſituation, joined himſelf to Chizer, and admitted him into the place. They then, with all their troops, took poſſeſſion of the country on the oppoſite ſide of the river, and prevented all ſupplies from Mahmood.

But

But that famine which they designed for the Emperor and his adherents, recoiled upon themselves; for a great drought had occasioned a scarcity of provisions between the rivers, and in the neighbourhood of Delhi; insomuch that Chizer was, a second time, forced to raise the siege, and retire to Fatipoor. Mahmood being delivered from this imminent danger, took no pains to strengthen himself against a future attack. He took the diversion of hunting in the neighbourhood of Keitul, where he was seized with a fever, and died in the month of Zecada; and with him the empire of Delhi fell from the race of the Turks, who were adopted slaves of the Emperor Mahommed Ghori, the second of that race of the princes of India, distinguished by the name of the dynasty of Ghor.

A. D. 1413. Hig. 816.

But retires.

Mahmood dies.

The disastrous, interrupted, and inglorious reign of the weak Mahmood, lasted twenty years and two months. He was just as unfit for the age in which he lived, as he was unworthy of better times. God was angry with the people of Hindostan, and he gave them Mahmood, whose only virtue was, that his folly made him insensible, in a great measure, to those strokes of fortune, which abilities much greater than his could not, perhaps, avert. The omrahs, soon after his death, elected, in his stead, Dowlat Lodi, a Patan by nation, and originally a private secretary, who, after passing through various employs, was raised by Mahmood to the dignity of Aziz Mumalick *.

His character.

Destitute of every pretension to the throne, by succession, Dowlat Lodi could not long be supported upon it, by the few chiefs, who owned allegiance to the court of Delhi. He was,

Dowlat Lodi elected Emperor.

* An officer something similar to our Secretary of state.

A. D. 1413. Hig. 816. however, ſeated upon the imperial Muſnud, in the month of Mohirim of the 816 year of the Higerah. He began his reign, by ſtriking the currency in his own name, which is commonly the firſt act of kings. Two chiefs of power and reputation, Malleck Ecteriz and Mubariz, who had been in the intereſt of Chizer, abandoned that omrah and joined Lodi. A few days after his acceſſion, he marched towards Kittar, and was met by Rai Narſingh, and other zemindars of thoſe diſtricts, who acknowledged his title. Arriving at the town of Battiali, Mohabut, governor of Budaoon, came to meet him.

Advices, in the mean time, arrived, that Ibrahim, who ſtiled himſelf Emperor of the eaſtern provinces, was beſieging Kadir the ſon of Mahmood, in Calpee; but as Lodi had not forces enough to march to his relief, he returned to Delhi to recruit his army. Chizer, who had been preparing to invade the capital, advanced, in the month of Zihidge, with ſixty thouſand horſe, and a third time inveſted the citadel of Seri, whither Dowlat Lodi had retired. After a ſiege of four months, he obliged Lodi, upon the 15th of the firſt Ribbi, in the year 817, to ſurrender himſelf and the citadel. The emperor was confined in the fort of Firoſa, where he died ſoon, after a nominal reign of one year and three months.

Is taken and depoſed by Chizer.

State of Aſia.

Diſturbances in Perſia, and his ardent deſire of extending his conqueſts to the extremities of Aſia, on the north and weſt, prevented Timur from retaining the conqueſts he had made in India. The inferiority of the troops of the Patan empire to the Moguls convinced him, that he could, at any time, reduce India; and he was therefore unwilling to leave any part of his veteran army to ſecure the provinces he had ſeized. Timur, after his return from Hin-

Hindostan, settled the affairs of Persia, reduced Syria, Egypt, and the lesser Asia; and, in the 805 of the Higera, defeated Bajazet, the Turkish Emperor, in a great battle in the plains of Galatia. When he was meditating the conquest of China, he died on his march into that country, in the 808 year of the Higera, and the 1405 of the Christian æra. His son Sharoch succeeded Timur, in his vast empire, and was on the throne at the death of Dowlat Lodi. A. D. 1413. Hig. 816.

CHIZER.

A.D. 1414. Hig. 817. Chizer succeeds.

THE most accurate historians of those times affirm, that Chizer was of the race of the Prophet, and consequently, what the Islamites call a Seid. His father, Soliman, being a person of some distinction, became the adopted son of Dowlat, a great omrah, and governor of the province of Moultan in the reign of Ferose. Dowlat was, upon his death, succeeded in his government by his own son Malleck Shech; and he soon dying, Soliman was appointed to that viceroyship, which descended to Chizer from his father. Chizer being defeated, as we have already observed, by Saring, and driven from his country, he waited upon Timur, after the conquest of Delhi, and, having gained his favor, was by him reinstated in his former government, with the addition of all the countries watered by the five rivers, commonly called Punjaab and Dibalpoor. This accession of strength enabled him to pave afterwards his way to the empire.

His family.

Chizer, upon his accession, conferred honours upon Malleck Joppa, and made him Vizier; and raised to dignities Rahim, the adopted son of his father Soliman, with the government of Fattepoor and Moultan. He thus distributed favors, governments, and dignities among his other omrahs, but would not assume the imperial titles to himself, holding forth, that he held the empire for Timur: and ordered the coin to be struck in his name. The Chutba, during the life of Timur, was read in that conqueror's name in the mosques; and after Timur had travelled the way of mortality, in that of the Emperor Sharoch his son, mentioning the name of Chizer after him. He even sent sometimes a tribute to Samarcand. This was, probably, good policy in

Does not assume the name of Emperor. Pretends to hold of Timur.

in Chizer, as he could govern his fellow omrahs, with less envy, in the name of the Tartar Prince, than if he was to assume the name of King himself, to which he had not the least shadow of pretence.

A. D. 1414. Hig. 817.

In the first year of his government he sent Joppa, with an army, towards Kittar, which he subdued, and drove Rai Narsingh to the mountains; but upon paying a tribute Rai Narsingh was again put in possession of his country. Mohabut, Suba of Badoon, at the same time came to meet Malleck, and promised allegiance; and from thence the vizier marched towards Koer, Kumbul, and Chidewar, and levied the revenues which were due for some years before. After recovering Jellasar out of the hands of the Rajaputs of Chundwar, he marched to Atava, which he brought under subjection, by changing the administration; and after these exploits returned to Delhi.

Subdues Kittar.

In the month of the first Jemmad of this year, a tribe of Turks, who were of the adherents of Byram, assassinating Malleck, governor of Sirhind, took possession of his country. Chizer sent Zirick, with a powerful army, against them; and, upon his approach, the Turks crossed the Suttuluz, and retreated to the hills. Zirick pursued them thither; but those mountains being a continuation of those of Nagracot, which were then possessed by powerful zemindars, who assisted the Turks, he could effect nothing material against them; and, in the end, he was obliged to retreat.

The Turks expelled from Sirhind.

Intelligence was, in the year 819, received at Delhi, that Ahmud, who stiled himself king of Guzerat, had advanced to Nagore. Chizer mustering all his forces, marched against him, but Ahmud declining battle, turned off towards Malava. When Chizer

Chizer's expedition against Ahmud.

A. D. 1414. Hig. 817.

Chizer had reached Hanir, Elias, governor of that beautiful city, which had been built by the Emperor Alla, came out to meet him, and was honorably received. The Emperor proceeded from thence to Gaulier, where he levied the tribute upon the rajâ, and then continued his march to Biana, taking tribute from Kerim, the lord of that country. He after theſe tranſactions returned to Delhi.

Turks again expelled from Sirhind.

In the year 820, Tân, chief of thoſe Turks who had aſſaſſinated Malleck, lay at the head of a great army before Sirhind. Zirick, governor of Sammana, was immediately diſpatched by Chizer, with a ſtrong force, againſt the Turk who beſieged Sirhind, and he was once more driven back to his hills; and a ſeaſonable relief was accompliſhed for the empire. Zirick having, in purſuit of the enemy, reached the village of Pael, Tân conſented to pay tribute, and gave him his ſon as a hoſtage, expelling the murderers of Malleck. Upon this pacification he was left in poſſeſſion of Jallender, and Zirick returned to Sammana, ſending the hoſtage and contributions which he had raiſed, to the royal preſence.

Chizer invades Kittar.

The Emperor, in the year 821, ſent his miniſter againſt Raja Narſingh. The vizier, without ending the war, plundered and laid waſte the province of Kittar, and returned to Budaoon. Croſſing then the river, he came to Atava, where he raiſed contributions, and from thence returned to Delhi. Chizer went, in perſon, againſt the rebels of Kittar, and, upon his march, chaſtiſed the banditti of Schole. He croſſed the Rahib, laid waſte the country of Simbol and Kittar, and, without coming to battle, returned to his capital.

He continued at Delhi a few days, and then moved towards Budaoon, croſſing the Ganges at Pattali. Mahabut being alarmed at his

his approach, ſhut himſelf up in Budaoon, where the king beſieged him for ſix months. In the courſe of the ſiege, Cawam, Achtiar Lodi, and all the old friends of the Emperor Mahmood, formed a conſpiracy againſt the life of Chizer. The Sultan diſcovering the plot, decamped from before Budaoon, and returned towards Delhi. He, on his way, prepared an entertainment, upon the 20th of the firſt Jemmad in 822, to which all the conſpirators were invited, and the guards ſetting ſuddenly upon them, they were to a man aſſaſſinated.

A. D. 1419. Hig. 822.

Diſcovers a plot againſt his life.

After the Sultan returned to Delhi, he was informed, that an impoſtor had appeared at Matchewarrah, under the name of Saring Chan, and had, by that means, collected a great body of people together. The king ordered Maleck Lodi, who, with the title of Iſlam Chan, was, at that time, governor of Sirhind, againſt him. The impoſtor was defeated, driven to the hills, and purſued by the joint forces of Tân, governor of Jallender, of Zirick, governor of Sammana, and of Maleck, governor of the country between the rivers. The impoſtor's army deſerted him, each man ſkulking as beſt he could, and privately retiring to his abode. The imperial forces having no further ſervice to do, ſeparated, and returned to their reſpective ſtations. But, in the year following, Saring, the impoſtor, iſſued again from his hills, and having made an alliance with Tân, governor of Jallender, they inveſted the fort of Sirhind, and ravaged the country as far as Munſurepoor and Pael. The king ſent a great army againſt them, who, giving them a total defeat, drove them out of the kingdom.

An impoſtor appears at Matchewarrah.

In the year 824, Chizer marched towards Mewat, taking and deſtroying the fort of Kotillah. The vizier dying at that time, the vizarit was conferred upon his ſon. The Sultan turned from thence

Chizer's expedition to Mewat.

A. D. 1419. Hig. 822.

thence towards Gualier, where he raised contributions, and then hastened to Attava, levying tribute on the son of Rai Sibber, who then possessed that country. Falling sick during his progress, he returned to Delhi, where he died on the 17th of the first Jemmad of this year. He reigned seven years, and a few months; and his death was greatly lamented by the people, being esteemed a just, generous, and benevolent prince, for that age.

Dies.

State of Asia.

Sharoch, the son of Timur, sat on the Mogul throne, and ruled the vast empire conquered by his father, with great ability, justice and moderation.

MUBARICK

MUBARICK II.

A. D. 1421. Hig. 824.

WHEN the Emperor Chizer had, by the violence of his disorder, lost all hopes of recovery, he, three days before he expired, appointed his eldest son to succeed him in the empire. Accordingly, two days after the Sultan's death, Mubarick * ascended the throne, by the title of the Supporter of Religion and father of the victorious. The new emperor made the usual appointments, raising Maleck Buddir, his cousin, to high honours; and Maleck Rigib, to the government of Dibalpoor and Punjaab.

Mubarick ascends the throne.

In the month of the first Jemmad, he received advices, that Jisserit, the brother of Sheca the Gicker, who had, the preceding year, defeated and taken Ali king of Cashmire, upon his return from an expedition against Tatta, presuming upon his own power and valour, had taken a resolution to attempt the throne of Delhi. He, for this purpose, invited into his service the famous Tân, who had fled to the mountains, and appointed him captain general of his forces. He soon over-run the countries of Punjaab and Lahore, seized upon Zirick, governor of Jallender, by perfidious means, after which he took the place; and immediately thereafter besieged Islam, the imperial governor of Sirhind.

Jisserit invades the empire.

The emperor Mubarick, though the solstitial rains were then in their height, marched from Delhi, and upon his approach to Sirhind, Jisserit raised the siege, and retreated to Ludhana. Zirick, at that place, found means to escape from him, and join Mubarick. The emperor advanced towards Ludhana and Jisserit, crossing the Suttuluz, encamped on the opposite bank; having first possessed

The emperor marches against him.

* His titles were Moaz ul dien, Abul Fatte, Sultan Mubarick Shaw.

A. D. 1421. Hig. 825.

himſelf of all the boats upon the river, which circumſtance obliged Mubarick to halt, till the water ſhould fall at Kabulpoor, Jiſſerit, in the mean time, being determined to oppoſe his paſſage. Upon the 11th of Shuwal, Secunder the Vizier, Zirick, Mahmood Haſſen, Maleck Callu, and other omrahs, according to the emperor's order, made a forced march, and forded the river, the king himſelf following them cloſe to ſupport them with the body of the army. Jiſſerit, by this means, was thrown into confuſion, and turned his face to flight. The Sultan kept cloſe to his heels, ſlew, in the purſuit, a great many of the enemy, and took all their baggage.

Mubarick rebuilds Lahore, and returns to Delhi.

Jiſſerit, after this defeat, took refuge in the mountains, in a very diſtreſſed condition. But Rai Bimé of Jimmu, having directed the king's army to Bile, a ſtrong fort into which Jiſſerit had thrown himſelf, he fled to another place, but was purſued with great ſlaughter, and Mubarick, in the Mohirim, of 825, directed his march to Lahore, ordered the ruined palaces and fortifications to be repaired, and, appointing Haſſen governor, returned to Delhi.

Jiſſerit beſieges Lahore without ſucceſs.

Jiſſerit, collecting his ſcattered forces, took the field again, and inveſted Lahore for five months, without ſucceſs. He then raiſed the ſiege, retired to Callanore, and fell upon Rai Bimé, for having given aſſiſtance to the king; but the action, which enſued between them, being undeciſive, Jiſſerit went to the banks of the Bea, and began to recruit his army. In the mean time, Malleck Secunder the vizier, who had been ſent to ſuccour Lahore, joined by Malleck Rigib, governor of Debalpoor, and by Iſlam, governor of Sirhind, advanced towards Jiſſerit, and obliged him to croſs the Ravi and Chinaab, and to take ſhelter among the hills. The vizier

vizier marched along the Ravi to Callanore; and, upon the frontiers of Jimmu, Rai Bimé joined him, and leading the imperial troops through the hills, where the Gickers were concealed, ſome thouſands of that unhappy people were put to the ſword, and the vizier returned to Lahore.

A. D. 1421. Hig. 825. Is obliged to take ſhelter in the mountains.

Theſe ſucceſſes prevailed upon the king to appoint the vizier vice-roy of Lahore, and to recal Haſſen. But, in the year eight hundred and twenty ſix, the Sultan deprived him of the vizarit, and conferred it upon Surur ul Muluck, whom he diſpatched againſt the Hindoos of Kittar. The emperor himſelf followed that general with a greater army. The inhabitants of Kittar were ſubdued, and a great tribute exacted from them. Mubarick having ſettled affairs with Mahabut, governor of Budaoon, commanded him to march againſt the tribe of Toor, whom that general plundered, and took priſoners to a man. The Raja of Attava having, at this time, withdrawn himſelf from the royal camp, Mubarick purſued him to that place, and beſieged him there. But terms of peace were ſettled between them, and the Raja's ſon given as a hoſtage for his father's future good behaviour. The king, after theſe tranſactions, returned to Delhi.

Mubarick invades Kittar.

Haſſen was, about this time, appointed paymaſter and commander in chief of the troops. Jiſſerit, unconquered by his misfortunes, raiſed again his head, and, having defeated and ſlain Rai Bimé, by a freſh acquiſition of reputation and wealth, raiſed an army of Gickers, with which he again attempted the conqueſt of Delhi. Having ravaged the countries of Lahore and Debalpoor, he collected together very conſiderable plunder, but when Secunder, the late vizier, advanced againſt him, he did not chuſe to riſque a battle, and therefore retired, with his

A. D. 1423. Hig. 827. ſpoils, to the hills, where he buſied himſelf in recruiting his army for another attempt.

In the mean time, Jiſſerit made an alliance with Amir Ali, a Mogul Omrah, a ſubject of the emperor Sharoch, the ſon of the great Timur, who reſided at Cabul. He perſuaded Amir Ali to make an incurſion into the territories of Seiſtan, Bicker, and Tatta, to draw off the king's attention from Delhi, and ſo to facilitate his own ſchemes. Alla, governor of Moultan, dying about this time, and the news of Amir Ali's incurſion being noiſed abroad, the king, without delay, ſent Haſſen, with the army, towards Moultan. The raja of Malava had, in the ſame year, inveſted Gualier, which obliged the emperor Mubarick to raiſe all the forces of thoſe provinces, and to march againſt him; levying, on his way, contributions upon Amir, prince of Biana.

The raja of Atava, upon the approach of Mubarick, croſſed the Chumbul, and ſat down on the oppoſite bank. Defeated by Mubarick. Mubarick having, in the mean time, found another ford, croſſed the river with great expedition, attacked him in his camp, took many priſoners, and a part of the enemy's baggage. The priſoners being found to be Mahommedans, were diſmiſſed by the king. The raja thought it then adviſeable to compound all differences, by paying down a Sues for peace. ſum of money to the Sultan; upon which he was permitted to withdraw towards Dhar. Mubarick having tarried for ſome time in that place, to levy contributions upon the neighbouring Zemindars, returned, in the month of Rigib, eight hundred and twenty ſeven, to Delhi.

The Sultan, next year, made a motion towards Kittar, where the Indian prince Narſingh came to the banks of the Ganges, to

 pay

pay his respects to him; but as he did not pay the revenues of his territory for three years back, he was confined for a few days, till his accounts were settled, and then he was released. The Sultan crossed the river, chastised some riotous Zemindars, and returned to Delhi. He did not remain there many days, before he drew his army towards Mewat, from whence he drove the rebels to the hills, and ravaging their country, returned to Delhi; and permitting his omrahs to retire to their jagiers, he gave himself up to pleasure and festivity. A. D. 1423. Hig. 827. Mubarick reduces Mewat, and dismisses his army.

But the inhabitants of Mewat, rendered more desperate and distressed by the king's bad policy, in ruining their country, were obliged to prey upon their neighbours, and to infest all the adjacent countries. This circumstance obliged the king, in the year eight hundred and twenty nine, to collect again an army to subdue them. Upon his approach, Jillu and Kiddu, the grandsons of Badhader Nahir, retreated to the hills of Alwar, where they defended the passes with great bravery. Being, at length, reduced to great distress, they surrendered themselves, were imprisoned, their country was again ravaged, and the Sultan returned to Delhi. Disturbances in Mewat.

But the distresses of the people of Mewat did not render them peaceable subjects. The king, after a recess of four months only, was again obliged to turn his arms against them, and to carry fire and sword through their whole country. He proceeded as far as Biana, where, after the death of Amir, his brother Mahommed held the chief sway. Upon the approach of the emperor, Mahommed shut himself up in the city, which he held out against Mubarick sixteen days; but, upon the desertion of the greatest part of the garrison, he surrendered at discretion, and was, with a rope about his neck, brought into the presence. The Sultan delivered the city to the care of Mackbul, and sent Mahommed Mewat again reduced.

A. D. 1423. Hig. 827.

med and his family to Delhi. To Malleck Topha he gave in charge the town of Sikri, known now by the name of Fattipoor, marched to Gualier, raised contributions there, and returned to Delhi. He removed, at that time, Hassen from the government of Moultan to that of Firosa, bestowing the former upon Malleck Rigib.

Mahommed escapes, and raises disturbances.

During these transactions Mahommed found means to escape, with his family, to Mewat, and collecting a considerable force, took the city of Biana, in the absence of Mackbul, on an expedition to Mahaban. The Sultan dispatched Mubariz, whom he appointed to that government, to drive Mahommed from thence. Mahommed retired into the fort, when Mubariz took possession of the country. After a few days siege he left the defence of the place to some trusty friends, and issuing out himself, escaped to Ibrahim, king of the East, who was advancing with an army against Calpee.

Flies to Sultan Ibrahim.

Kadir Shaw, governor of Calpee, upon this occasion sent expresses to Delhi, for succours. Mubarick hastened to his relief, and having reached Aterawli, detached Hassen, with ten thousand horse, against Muchtiss Chan, the brother of Ibrahim, who was in motion with a considerable force to reduce Attava. This detachment, however, encountering Muchtiss, drove him back to his brother, and Hassen returned to the army. Ibrahim advanced along the banks of the Black River to Burhanabad, from thence to the village of Raberi, and so on to the banks of Kinhire, where he encamped. Mubarick, in the mean time, crossing the Jumna, near Chundwar, encamped within ten miles of the enemy. Both armies remained in their trenches for the space of twenty-two days, during which time, slight skirmishes daily happened between them. Ibrahim, however, upon the

2 seventh

seventh of the second Jemmad, marched out of his camp, and offered battle to the king. Mubarick, though he declined to risque his own person, ordered out his army to oppose Ibrahim, under the command of his vizier, Seid ul Sadit, and Seid Sallam.

A. D. 1427. Hig. 831. Ibrahim advances against Mubarick.

The action commenced, with great fury, about noon, and night parted the combatants; both armies retreating to their respective camps. Ibrahim, however, marched off, in the morning, towards Jionpoor, while Mubarick, contenting himself with the advantage he had gained, returned towards Gualier, crossing the river at Hitgaut. Having received there the usual presents, he turned off towards Biana, into which Mahommed had again thrown himself, after the battle. He made a gallant defence, but was again obliged to capitulate, and had leave to go whithersoever he pleased. Hassen was left in the government of that province; and on the fifteenth of Shaban, eight hundred and thirty-one, Mubarick returned victorious and triumphant to Delhi. He there seized Malleck Mewati, who had joined himself to Ibrahim, and ordered him to be put to death.

The armies engage. A drawn battle.

In the month of Zicada the Sultan received advices, that Jisserit had sat down before Callanore, after having defeated Secunder, the late vizier, who had marched against him, and driven him back to Lahore. Mubarick sent an order to Zirick, governor of Samana, and Islam, who commanded at Sirhind, to join Secunder; but, before their arrival, he had marched towards Callanore, and defeated Jisserit in his turn; depriving him of all the plunder he had acquired in that province.

Jisserit besieges Callanore, is defeated.

Mubarick marched to Mewat, in the month of Mohirrim, eight hundred and thirty-two, and entirely subdued that country, obliging

Mubarick subdues Mewat.

A. D. 1429. Hig. 833.

obliging the inhabitants to pay a regular tribute. In the mean time advices arrived at Delhi, that Malleck Rigib was dead, upon which, the king conferred the title of Ameid ul Muluck upon Haſſen, who had ſettled the affairs of Biana, and ſent him governor to Moultan. The Sultan, in the following year, proceeded to Gualier, which country he ravaged, and carried off ſome thouſands of the poor inhabitants into ſlavery. Turning then his forces towards Raberi, he wreſted that country from the ſon of Haſſen, gave it to Malleck Humza, and afterwards returned to Delhi. Seid Allum dying by the way, his eldeſt ſon had the title of Seid Chan conferred upon him, and the youngeſt that of Suja ul Muluck, together with all the wealth of their father, which was very great; though, according to the cuſtom of Hindoſtan, it ſhould become the property of the king.

Ingratitude of the ſons of Seid Allum.

These favours, however, did not ſecure the faith of the ſons of Seid Allum, for they ſent Fowlad, a Turkiſh ſlave, to Tibberhind, to ſtir up privately, in their name, an inſurrection there. They had formed hopes, it is ſaid, that they might be ſent with a force to ſuppreſs the rebellion, and ſo have an opportunity to join the rebels. But the plot was diſcovered, and both impriſoned; while, in the mean time, Euſuph and Ibbu were ſent to Tibberhind to confiſcate their eſtates, and ſuppreſs the diſturbance raiſed by Fowlad.

Rebellion of Fowlad.

Fowlad entering into a negotiation, lulled into a negligent ſecurity the imperial generals, and ſallying one night from his fort, ſurprized their camp. He was, however, ſo warmly received by the king's troops, that he was ſoon driven back. This did not deter him from making another effort next night, at the ſame time making a great diſcharge of artillery from the works, which ſtruck a panic into the imperial troops, who took immediately to

their

their heels, leaving their camp ſtanding, with all their baggage. Mubarick, upon receiving advice of that diſaſter, was conſtrained to march towards Tibberhind in perſon. The rebel daily gathered ſtrength, and the king was obliged to call Ameid ul Muluck from Moultan, and ſeveral other governors, to join him. Every thing for the expedition being prepared, Mubarick ſtopped at Surſutti, and diſpatched the greateſt part of his army to inveſt the fort of Tibberhind. Fowlad ſent a meſſage to the imperial camp, importing, that he had great confidence in Ameid ul Muluck, and ſaid, that if he ſhould be ſent with promiſe of pardon, he himſelf would deliver up the place. The emperor accordingly ſent Ameid to Tibberhind, where Fowlad met him a little without the gate. Having accordingly received aſſurances of pardon, he promiſed to give up the place the next day. But one of Ameid's attendants, who was of Fowlad's acquaintance, told him privately, that though Ameid was a man of ſtrict honour, and would certainly adhere to his promiſe, yet the king might not be ſo tender of preſerving his, and that it was very probable he might bring Fowlad to puniſhment. Fowlad, after the conference was over, revolved this intimation in his own mind, and repented ſeriouſly of his promiſe; and, therefore, as he had both money and proviſions, he determined to hold out to the laſt.

A. D. 1429. Hig. 833. Mubarick marches againſt him.

The king ſeeing that the taking of the place would be a work of time, and that there would be no occaſion for ſo great an army to beſiege it, he permitted Ameid ul Muluck to return with the forces of Moultan, and leaving Iſlam Lodi, Cummal, and Firoſe, to carry on the ſiege, he himſelf retired to Delhi. Fowlad, having held out ſix months, was greatly diſtreſſed, and ſaw no means of extricating himſelf, but by an alliance with Ali, governor of Cabul, on the part of Sharoch, the Mogul emperor. He ſent, for this purpoſe, meſſengers to him, with large promiſes for his aſſiſtance. As Mubarick

Beſieges him.

A. D. 1429. Hig. 833.

barick had taken no pains to keep upon good terms with the Mogul, the latter left Cabul, and, being in his way joined by the Gickers, crossed the Bea, and ravaged the country of those omrahs who carried on the siege; and advancing towards Tibberhind, the imperial army decamped and fled. Fowlad, for this signal service, gave to Ali two lacks of rupees, and other presents; and having given to him all the charge of his family, exerted himself in repairing the fortifications, and laying in provisions and ammunition.

Moguls ravage the country;

Ali, crossing the Sutluluz, committed cruel depredations upon the unhappy country, acquiring of plunder twenty times the value of the subsidy which he had received from Fowlad. Advancing then to Lahore, he raised the usual tribute from Secunder, then returned towards Dibalpoor, desolating the country wherever he went; insomuch that forty thousand Hindoos were computed to have been massacred, besides a great number carried away prisoners. Ameid ul Muluck posted himself to oppose Ali, at the town of Tilbanna, but he gave him the slip, and went to Chitpoor, when Ameid received the king's orders to retreat to save Moultan. The flight of the imperial army encouraged the enemy to follow them beyond the Ravi, and to lay waste the country, to within ten crores of Moultan. Ali defeated there Islam Lodi, who had been left to stop his progress.

From thence the Moguls advanced to Cheirabad, within six miles of the city, and the next day, which was the fourth of Ramzan, they made an assault upon the place, but were beaten back. They continued, however, from their camp to make daily excursions towards the city, putting all whom they could meet to the sword.

4 The

The king being informed of these transactions, sent Fatte Chan and Mubarick, with other omrahs of distinction, to succour Ameid; who, upon being joined by all these with their forces, went out, and offered battle to Ali. Ali did not decline it, and a furious conflict ensued, in the beginning of which the Moguls gained some advantage. However, upon the death of Fatte Chan, the gale of fortune changed, and blew with the standards of Hindostan. Ali, at one stroke, played away all his gains, escaping, with a few attendants only, to Cabul, his whole army being either killed or drowned in the Gelum, in their precipitate flight.

A. D. 1430. Hig. 834.

are overthrown.

Ameid, having pursued the runaways to Shinnore, returned victorious to Moultan, and the omrahs, who had succoured him, repaired, by the king's orders, to Delhi; and soon after, Mubarick, jealous of the success of Ameid, called him also to court. Jisserit took advantage of his absence, crossed the Gelum, Ravi, and Bea, and fought Secunder, the late vizier, near Jillender, defeated and took him prisoner, with all his treasure and baggage. He forthwith advanced and besieged Lahore. Ali, at the same time, at the instigation of Jisserit, made another incursion towards Moultan, and, having taken Tilbunna, by capitulation, he broke his word, plundered the place, massacred all the men able to bear arms, and carried their wives and children into captivity, laying the town in ruins.

Jisserit invades the empire.

Besieges Lahore.

Fowlad, taking also advantage of these disturbances, marched out of Tibberhind, and invading the country of Rai Firose, defeated him. Mubarick thought it now high time to march from Delhi. He, accordingly, upon the first of the first Jemmad, eight hundred and thirty-five, took the route of Lahore, appointing his vizier, governor of that place, and to command in the van of his army. The vizier arriving at Sammana, Jisserit raised the siege

Mubarick raises the siege.

A. D. 1432. Hig. 836.

ſiege of Lahore, and retreated to the hills. Ali haſtened back to Cabul, and Fowlad again ſhut himſelf up in Tibberhi d. The Sultan, upon this, took the government of Lahore from the vizier, and gave it to Nuſerit; then returning, encamped near Panniput, on the banks of the Jumna, ſending Ameid ul Muluck with a part of the army to ſuppreſs ſome inſurrections about Gualier, and the vizier to beſiege Tibberhind; he himſelf returning to Delhi.

Mubarick marches againſt Jiſſe-rit.

In the month of Zihidge, Jiſſerit advanced again to Lahore, and commenced hoſtilities againſt Nuſerit, which obliged the king, in the year eight hundred and thirty-ſix, to march from Delhi as far as Sammana. Intelligence was brought to him in that place of the death of his mother, Muchduma Jehan, and he immediately returned, with a few attendants; and, after performing the funeral obſequies, went back to his army. After his arrival in the camp, he ſuddenly changed his reſolution, and turned back towards Mewat, conferring the government of Lahore upon Malleck Lodi, who promiſed to expel Jiſſerit. But Jiſſerit, upon hearing of the king's return, was joined by a great body of Gickers, who imagined that his affairs bore a better aſpect, ſo that he was in a condition to receive Lodi, whom he defeated.

Ali takes Lahore.

The king having received the news of this overthrow, and alſo that Ali, governor of Cabul, was coming towards Tibberhind, took again the rout of Punjaab, ſending before him Ameid ul Muluck to reinforce the omrahs who were beſieging Tibberhind. Upon his approach, Ali, who ſtood in awe of him, laid aſide his intentions of coming to Tibberhind, and turned away, by forced marches, towards Lahore, which he ſurprized, and began a horrid ſcene of maſſacre and depredation. But hearing that the king had reached Tilbundi, Ali left a garriſon of two thouſand men in the place, and retreated towards Cabul, ravaging the country in his

way,

way, and leaving his nephew, Muziffer, in the fort of Shinnore. A. D. 1432. Hig. 836.

The king a second time raised Secunder, who had ransomed himself, to the government of Lahore, Dibalpoor, and Jillender, upon which he advanced and laid siege to the city. He took it by capitulation, and permitted the garrison to retire to Cabul. He immediately crossed the Ravi, near Tilbundi, and invested Shinnore. Muziffer held up in that place the standard of opposition for a whole month, but being hard pressed, he capitulated, by giving his daughter to the king, and paying a great ransom for his liberty. Mubarick left a great part of his army at Dibalpoor, and, with a select body, marched himself to Moultan to visit the tombs of the saints, from whence he returned in a few days to his camp. He, at this time, divested Secunder of his government of Lahore, gave it to Ameid ul Muluck, and returned with great expedition to Delhi. Being jealous of the power of the vizier, he joined Kammal with him in the vizarit; and, the latter being esteemed a man of superior abilities, he soon gained the favour of his sovereign and the people.

Retaken.

Shinnore capitulates.

The vizier, upon this, became dissatisfied, and began to project treason. Having gained over Sidarin and Sidpal, two great Hindoo chiefs of the tribe of Kittrie, Miran Sidder, deputy to the chief secretary Sammud, lord of the private chambers, and others, they watched an opportunity to assassinate the king. About this time, Mubarick had ordered a city to be founded upon the banks of the Jumna, calling it the city of Mubarick, and made an excursion towards Tibberhind, as it were to take the diversion of hunting. Having, on the way, received advices that Tibberhind was taken, and being presented with the head of Fowlad, he returned to the new city. He there received intelligence that

A conspiracy formed against the Sultan.

A. D. 1433. Hig. 837. that war was carrying on between Ibrahim, king of the Eastern provinces, and Hoshung of Malavi, near Calpie, which was a very agreeable piece of news to him, as he sought an opportunity to expel Ibrahim from his dominions. He therefore gave orders to muster his army, and pitching his tent without the city, delayed a few days in regulating and collecting his forces, during which time he continued to visit the new works without fear of danger, having never given offence to his nobility, except in changing or turning them out of their governments when they misbehaved.

He is assassinated. Upon the ninth of the month of Rigib, in the year eight hundred and thirty-seven, according to his custom, he went to worship at a new mosque which he had built in the new city, with only a few attendants. The conspirators rushed in, in armour, with drawn swords upon him, and basely assassinated him. The vizier having previously settled matters with Mahommed, one of the grandsons of the emperor Chizer, raised that prince to the throne.

His character. Mubarick reigned thirteen years, three months, and sixteen days. He was esteemed a man of parts, just and benevolent, and, though no great warrior, had he lived in a virtuous age, there is no doubt but he possessed talents which might render him worthy of a throne.

State of Asia. Little alteration happened in the north of Asia, during the reign of Mubarick. Sharoch sat on the throne of the Moguls, and seemed more inclined to rule his dominions with justice and equity, than to extend their limits towards India.

MAHOM-

MAHOMMED V.

ACCORDING to the custom of the world, which cannot subsist without rule, the same day that Mubarick was sent to eternity, Mahommed * was established upon the throne. The ungrateful assassin, the vizier, received the title of lord of the world, and seized upon the king's treasure, regalia, and other effects, discharging all the old omrahs from office, and appointing new ones, who might, in time, serve his ambitious views.

A. D. 1433. Hig. 837.

Mahommed mounts the throne.

Kummal, the deputy vizier, and other omrahs, who were in the camp, having consulted among themselves, upon hearing of the king's death, resolved, rather than kindle a civil war in the country, to bear with the times, to pay allegiance to the new king, and to wait a more proper and more certain opportunity of taking revenge upon the conspirators. They came into the city and paid their compliments to Mahommed. The first preferments, which the vizier gave away to facilitate his future schemes, was to appoint the two Hindoo conspirators to the governments of Biana, Amrohi, Narnoul, and Coram; and Miran Sidder, dignified with a title, was presented with a very considerable jagier. The son of Seid Salem was dignified with the title of Chan Azim, and the government of several countries were conferred upon him. But the omrahs, and dependants of Mubarick, were, by tricks and false accusations, killed, imprisoned, banished, robbed, or turned out of office.

The omrahs disguise their discontent.

The vizier's tyranny.

A slave of the vizier, whose name was Rana, was sent collector of the revenues to Biana, but Eusoph Lodi fought and slew him near

* His titles at length are, Sultan Mahommed Shaw, the son of Ferid, the son of the emperor Chizer.

that

A. D. 1433.
Hig. 837.
The omrahs riſe in arms.

that place. At the ſame time, ſome of the omrahs of the emperors Mubarick and Chizer, who ſaw that there was a deſign on foot to deprive them of their jagiers, particularly Chimun, governor of Budaoon, Malleck Lodi, who commanded at Simbol, Ali of Guzerat, and Amir, the Turk, erected the ſpear of rebellion, upon which the vizier, deceived by the behaviour of his deputy Kummal, gave him the command of the army, and ſent Sidarin, and his own ſon Euſoph, along with him, to ſuppreſs the rebels. But when they came to the village of Birren, Kummal intended to take revenge on Sidarin and Euſoph, for the murder of the king. He therefore acquainted Malleck Lodi of his reſolutions, who, for that reaſon, made no motion towards them. This deſign being, however, diſcovered to the vizier, he ſent Hoſhiar, his own ſlave, with a great army, under pretence of ſuccours, with private inſtructions to prevent the effects of the plot. Kummal had, at Ahare, joined his forces with Malleck Lodi, before the reinforcement, under the vizier's ſlave, arrived. Hoſhiar, hearing of this junction, thought that there was no ſafety for him, and he, therefore, fled, with Euſoph and Sidarin, to Delhi. Kummal immediately ſent to call the diſaffected omrahs, who joined him without delay, ſo that, upon the laſt of Ramzan, he moved, with a great army, towards Delhi.

The vizier beſieged in the citadel.

The vizier ſhut himſelf up in the citadel of Seri, which he held out three months; but as the party of Kummal daily gained ſtrength and reputation, he was driven to great diſtreſs. The king, perceiving that his own affairs would be ruined, if he ſhould adhere to the vizier, endeavoured to conciliate matters with the beſiegers, and, at the ſame time, ſought an opportunity of making his eſcape, or cutting off the vizier. The vizier diſcovering this plot, deſigned to be beforehand with the king; accordingly, upon the eighth of Mohirrim, with the ſons

sons of Miran Sidder, and with some of his own adherents, he broke into the king's apartment. But the emperor, having suspected him of such intentions, had privately a guard at hand, who, on a signal given, rushed upon the conspirators. They immediately betook themselves to flight; but the vizier was cut to pieces, as he was rushing out at the door, and thus met the fate he designed for his lord. The sons of Miran Sidder, and the rest of the assassins, were taken, and put to death, while Hoshiar and one Mubarick, who were parties concerned, were publickly executed. The Kittries, and other adherents of the vizier, afraid for themselves, rose up in arms. The king was obliged to shut himself up, ordering the Bagdat-gate to be thrown open to the besiegers, who, rushing in accordingly, began a dreadful massacre among the rebels, till they entirely subdued them. Such as remained alive were bound and put to death at the tomb of the emperor Mubarick.

A. D. 1433. Hig. 837. His counterplot.

Is slain.

Kummal, and the other omrahs, swore allegiance the next day, for the second time, to Mahommed; the vizarit was conferred on Kummal, and Chimun was dignified with the title of Ghazi Malleck, with a jagier. The other omrahs were confirmed in their former offices, governments, and estates. When matters were completely settled at Delhi, the king, by the advice of his counsellors, made a campaign towards Moultan, and encamping near the city of Mubarick, gave orders to draw together his army from all the provinces. Many of the chiefs, being intimidated, delayed to repair to the imperial standard till Ameid ul Muluck arrived from Moultan, adding power to enforce the royal commands, by a numerous army, which he brought with him. All the other provincial omrahs hastened to the camp, and were honoured with dresses, and other marks of favor and distinction.

The omrahs swear allegiance to Mahommed.

The Sultan marches towards Moultan,

A. D. 1434. Hig. 838.

tion. The king moved towards Moultan, to make a parade with his army, and, having viſited the tombs of the ſaints, returned to his capital.

and to Sammana.

In the year eight hundred and forty, he marched towards Sammana, and detached a part of his army againſt Jiſſerit, the Gicker, who was raiſing diſturbances. The country of Jiſſerit was plundered, and the king returned to Delhi, where he gave himſelf up entirely to pleaſure, neglecting all the cares and neceſſary affairs of government. The accounts of the king's luxurious indolence ſoon affected the ſtate. Diſſatisfaction began to appear firſt in Moultan, where a tribe of Patans, called Linga, roſe in rebellion. At the ſame time, Beloli Lodi, who, after the death of his uncle, Iſlam, became governor of Sirhind, without any orders, poſſeſſed himſelf of the city and diſtricts of Lahore and Debalpoor, with all the country back to Panniput.

Beloli defeats the imperial army.

The Sultan receiving intelligence of this revolt, ſent his whole army againſt him, who drove him back to the hills. In the retreat many chiefs of diſtinction were put to the ſword; but Beloli recruited his army, and, when the imperial forces were withdrawn, he again poſſeſſed himſelf of all the countries from which they had driven him. Mahommed, this time, ſent Hiſſam Chan, the vizier's deputy, againſt him, who was defeated, and beat back to Delhi; upon which, Beloli wrote to the king, that if he would put Hiſſam to death, who, by his intrigues, had been the occaſion of this rebellion, he would lay down his arms.

The Sultan's conceſſions to the rebels,

The king was weak enough to liſten to this arrogant propoſal, and accordingly gave orders for the death of Hiſſam. He alſo deprived Cummal of the vizarit, and conferred it upon Hamid, appointing another perſon deputy, with the title of Hiſſam Chan.

The

The governors of the provinces obferving this pufillanimous and impolitic behaviour of the king, predicted his deftruction, and endeavoured to fecure their own independency; while the fubjects and zemindars, forefeeing the convulfions that muft happen in the ftate, with-held their rents, in hopes that they might be paffed over, in the general confufion. A. D. 1438. Hig. 842. alienate the minds of his fubjects. Confufions in the empire.

Ibrahim, fovereign of the eaftern provinces, poffeffed himfelf of feveral diftricts adjoining to his dominions; and Mahmood Chilligi *, king of Malava, made an attempt on the capital; and, in the year eight hundred and forty-four, advanced within two crores of the city. Mahommed, ftruck with terror in this urgent fituation of affairs, imprudently fent an embaffy to Beloli, to beg his affiftance. Beloli accordingly, with twenty thoufand Perfian horfe, came to Delhi; Mahommed, though his army was greatly fuperior to the enemy, was afraid to take the field by himfelf, but committed the charge of the whole to his omrahs, and repofed himfelf in the haram. The omrahs, according to orders, advanced with the army againft the enemy, Beloli leading the van. A. D. 1440. Hig. 844. The impolitic and cowardly behaviour of the king.

When Mahmood Chilligi was given to underftand, that the king of Delhi was not prefent, he thought it was meant as an affront to him; and, to be on a footing with Mahommed, he committed the charge of his army to his fons Yeaz ul Dien and Kuddir Chan. The two armies having engaged, the troops of Delhi gave way, and left Beloli alone to difpute the field, which he maintained with invincible refolution, till the fugitives, afhamed of their behaviour, returned to the action. Night, however, coming on, the victory was left undecided. Mahmood Chilligi being greatly frightened by a dream that night, and having heard, A drawn battle.

* He was defcended of the emperor Ferofe I. of the tribe of Chilligi, emperors of Delhi.

 in

A. D. 1446. Hig. 850.

A peace concluded.

in the morning, that sultan Ahmed, of Guzerat, was advanced as far as Mundo, he was more and more intimidated, and began to be desirous of making peace: but shame prevented him from expressing his wishes. At the same time, Mahommed, with less reason, and contrary to the advice of all his counsellors, gave himself up to base fear, and sent ambassadors with presents to his rival to beg peace.

Mahmood Chilligi defeated by Beloli,

Mahmood Chilligi was overjoyed at these proposals, which saved the appearance of his reputation, and immediately accepting them, marched from the field. Beloli, who now began justly to despise them both, and to aspire to the empire, marched out of the city with his own troops, and pursuing Mahmood Chilligi, attacked him upon his march, defeated him, and took all his baggage.

who is adopted by the Sultan.

The weak Sultan, who did not hitherto see through his palpable intentions, gave him the title of first of the nobles *, and adopted him for his son.

He marches against Delhi.

In the year eight hundred and forty-five, the emperor marched to Sammana, giving the governments of Lahore and Debalpoor to Beloli, and ordering him to expel Jisserit. He himself returned to his capital. Beloli, by this means, became extremely powerful, and recruited a great army of Afghans; but, instead of fighting Jisserit, he brought him over to his party, and began to seize upon several districts, without any orders from the king. At length, without any apparent reason, but his ambition, he drew his army against Delhi, which he besieged for some months, but, in the end, was obliged to abandon his enterprize.

The king's power declines.

The king's power was greatly weakened, and began to decay very rapidly. The zemindars of Biana put themselves under the govern-

* Chan Chanân.

government of Mahmood Chilligi. In the mean time, Mahommed fell ſick and died, in the year eight hundred and forty-nine, leaving behind him the character of a weak, diſſolute, and unwarlike prince; owing to the ambition of others a throne, upon which he could not ſit with dignity himſelf. He reigned twelve years and ſome months, and his ſon Alla ſucceeded him in the empire. A. D. 1446. Hig. 850. He dies. His character.

Sharoch, emperor of the Moguls, dying this year, the conqueſts of Timur were divided among his grand-children, the ſons of the prince Baſinkar. The eldeſt ſon of Sharoch, the famous Ulug-Bec, enjoyed the imperial titles, but his power was confined to the weſtern Tartary, or Tranſoxiana. The eldeſt ſon of Baſinkar poſſeſſed himſelf of the extenſive province of Choraſſan, and the countries towards the Indus; Abul Kaſem, the third ſon, reigned over Mazinderan and Georgia, and Mahommed the ſecond ſon of Baſinkar, became ſovereign of all the weſtern Perſia. The empire of Delhi, though it was in ſome meaſure reſtored by Chizer and Mubarick, was far from being as extenſive, as it was before the invaſion of Timur. Mahommedan princes poſſeſſed the ſouth eaſt provinces, and a kind of empire was long eſtabliſhed in the Decan, independent of the crown of Delhi. State of Aſia.

ALLA

ALLA II.

A. D. 1447. Hig. 851. Alla mounts the throne.

ALLA *, the ſon of Mahommed, mounted the throne upon the demiſe of his father. All the omrahs, excepting Beloli Lodi, came and ſwore allegiance to him. This contempt of Beloli, the new Sultan was in no condition to chaſtiſe. But having collected an army, in the beginning of the year eight hundred and fifty, he marched to recover Biana. When he was upon the way, there was a rumour propagated, that the king of the Eaſt was advancing towards Delhi, which, though falſe, brought back the emperor to his capital; though he was told by Hiſſam, the vizier, how ridiculous it would appear in a king to be guided by a vague report. This reprimand brought upon the vizier Alla's diſpleaſure.

Loſes his reputation. His luxury.

This ſtep, however, proved ruinous to the Sultan's reputation, and the meaneſt of the people feared not to ſay publickly, that he was a weaker man, and a greater fool, than his father. He marched in the following year to Budaoon, where he remained ſome time, laying out gardens, building pleaſure-houſes, and making entertainments, and then returned to Delhi. Pretending that the air of Budaoon agreed better with his health, he expreſſed an inclination of making that city his reſidence, to divert him from which, the vizier took much pains, but only incurred more and more of his diſpleaſure.

The ſtate of Hindoſtan. Decayed condition of the empire.

All Hindoſtan was, at this time, divided into ſeparate ſtates; for in the Decan, Guzerat, Malava, Jionpoor, and Bengal, there were princes who aſſumed the ſtile and dignity of kings; while Punjab, Debalpoor, and Sirhind, even to Panniput, was poſſeſſ-

* His titles were, Sultan Alla ul Dien Ben Mahommed Shaw.

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ed by Beloli. Merowli, and all the country to the Serai of Lado, within fourteen miles of Delhi, were in the hands of Ahmed of Mewat; Simbol, close to the walls of this city, was possessed by Deria Lodi; Kole, by Isah; Rabari, by Cuttub, the Afghan; Cumpela and Pattiali, by the Indian prince Partab; Biana was subject to Daood Lodi; so that the city of Delhi, and a few small districts, remained only to the king. A. D. 1447. Hig. 851.

Beloli made, about this time, another attempt upon the city, but was not more successful than he was before. The king, relieved from this danger, began to consult the means to recover part of his lost empire, advising with Cuttub Isah, and Partab. These chiefs, desirous to weaken him still more, told him, that the omrahs were all disgusted with his vizier; that, should he be turned out of office, and imprisoned, they were ready to pay him due allegiance, and made no doubt but the affairs of the empire would put on a more favourable aspect. The weak Alla became the dupe of those traitors, and accordingly imprisoned and disgraced his vizier. He immediately ordered preparations to be made for removing his court to Budaoon, from which not all the remonstrances of his best friends could restrain him; though they represented, in a strong light, how impolitic it would be, at such a juncture, to change his capital.

Beloli makes an unsuccessful attempt upon Delhi.

Alla accordingly, in the year eight hundred and fifty-two, set out for Budaoon, leaving Hissam in the government of Delhi. When the Sultan arrived at his new capital, Cuttub and Partab waited upon him, and told him, that as long as the vizier was alive, the omrahs could not be brought to trust themselves at court. The weak king was prevailed upon to command him to be put to death; but the vizier's brother having notice given him of

Fixes his residence at Budaoon.

Orders the vizier to be put to death.

A. D. 1448. Hig. 852. who escapes to Delhi,

of this bloody purpose, found means, with the assistance of some of his friends, to release him, and to escape to Delhi. He there took immediate possession of all the king's effects, and turned his haram out of the city.

and places Beloli upon the throne.

Alla put off the time by ridiculous procrastinations, and vain excuses of the weather, and unlucky times, till the vizier had called Beloli to take upon him the empire. Beloli, glad of the opportunity, amused the Sultan, by writing to him, that he was coming to chastise the vizier, till he arrived and took possession of the city, taking upon himself the title of Sultan Beloli. He, however, gave place to the name of Alla, in the Chutba, in the year eight hundred and fifty-four.

Alla abdicates in favour of Beloli.

He gave the city in charge to his son, Chaja Baezid, marched in person to Debalpoor, and collected together a great army of Afghans. He wrote, at the same time, to Alla, that, upon his account, he had expelled the vizier; and he received for answer, from that weak prince, that as his father had adopted Beloli as his son, he would esteem him his brother; he moreover promised to cede to him the empire, upon condition that he would permit him to live quietly in the possession of Budaoon. Beloli threw immediately the name of Alla out of the Chutba, and spread the umbrella of empire over his own head. Alla remained at Budaoon till his death, which happened in the year eight hundred and eighty-three; his reign in Delhi being seven years, and his government of Budaoon near twenty-eight. A weak, and sometimes a wicked, prince, while he retained the empire; in a private station, a peaceable, if not a virtuous man.

Persia,

Persia, and the western Tartary, were in confusion during the short reign of Alla, by means of a series of hostilities between the descendants of Timur, who had divided his conquests among them. The Mogul empire ceased, in fact, to exist, though Abu-Seid, the son of Miran Shaw, and grandson of Timur, kept up the name of it, in the western Tartary and Chorassan. A. D. 1450. Hig. 854. State of Asia.

BELOLI.

A. D. 1450. Hig. 854. Beloli's family.

BELOLI was an Afghan, of the tribe of Lodi, which people, forming themselves into a commercial society, carried on a trade between Persia and Hindostan. In the time of the emperor Ferose, Ibrahim, the grandfather of Beloli, being possessed of wealth, made his way at the court of Delhi, and raised himself to the government of Moultan. Ibrahim had five sons, Sultan, Culla, Firose, Mahommed, and Chaja, who, on the death of their father, remained in Moultan.

When Chizer, afterwards emperor, was appointed to that government, Sultan received the command of all his Afghan troops. In the action which Chizer had with Eckbal, Sultan had the good fortune to kill Eckbal, by which means he became a great favorite with Chizer. He was accordingly appointed by that prince governor of Sirhind, with the title of Islam Chan, while his brothers partook of his fortune. One of whom, Calla, the father of Beloli, had a district bestowed upon him by his brother. The wife of Calla, who was his own cousin, being smothered by the fall of a house, when with child, the father instantly ripped up her belly, and saved the life of the infant, who afterwards held the empire, by the title of Sultan Beloli.

Account of his birth.

Calla being killed in an action with the Afghans of Neaz, Beloli went to his uncle Islam, at Sirhind, and upon his distinguishing himself in a battle, his uncle gave him his daughter in marriage. Islam was, at this time, so powerful, that he retained twelve thousand Afghans, mostly of his own tribe, in his service.

Distinguishes himself in an action.

2 Islam,

A. D. 1450. Hig. 854. Islam recommends Be'oli to the government of Sirhind.

Islam, at his death, though he had children of his own come to maturity, recommended Beloli to succeed him. The troops, upon this, divided into three parties, one of which adhered to Beloli, one to Firose, brother to Islam, who had been made an omrah by the king of Delhi, and the other to Cuttub, the son of Islam. But Beloli, who was the most artful of the three, found means to weaken his rivals, and encrease his own power.

Cuttub complains at the court of Delhi.

Cuttub repaired to Delhi, and acquainted the emperor Mahommed V. that the Afghans of Sirhind were establishing a power, which, unless it was soon prevented, would shake the empire. The Emperor immediately dispatched his vizier Secunder, with a powerful army, to bring the chiefs of the Afghans to court, and if they disobeyed, to expel them from Sirhind. Jisserit was also instigated to take arms against them, by which means they were, in the end, driven to the hills; but upon a promise of peace, and of their future good behaviour, Firose left his son Shai Chan and Beloli with his army, and, with some attendants, went to Jisserit and Secunder. They, notwithstanding their promise, by the advice of Cuttub, his nephew, who was in the imperial camp, imprisoned him and slew all his attendants. They also dispatched part of their army to reduce Beloli, but he retreated to a place of safety, with the women and children. Before he could join Shai Chan, he was attacked and defeated, and a great part of his army slain.

...li be... pow...

When Jisserit had retired to Punjab, Beloli collected the remains of his tribe, and began to raise contributions, or plunder wherever he could, and as he was extremely generous in dividing the spoil among his followers, he soon became very powerful. Some time after, Firose made his escape from Delhi, and joined him; and

A. D. 1450. Hig. 854.

and even Cuttub, repenting of his former behaviour, found means to be reconciled to Beloli. Beloli ſoon after invaded Sirhind, and poſſeſſed himſelf of that province. Upon receiving intelligence of theſe tranſactions, the emperor Mahommed ſent Hiſſam, his vizier, with a great army againſt him. Beloli took the field, and giving the vizier battle, defeated him, by which his power and reputation greatly encreaſed.

Is promiſed the empire by a Dirveſh.

We are told, that when Beloli was yet a youth in his uncle's ſervice, one day he was permitted to pay his reſpects to a famous Dirveſh of Sammana, whoſe name was Sheidai. When he ſat in a reſpectful poſture before him, the Dirveſh cried out, in an enthuſiaſtick manner, "Who will give two thouſand rupees for the empire of Delhi?" Upon which, Beloli told him, he had only one thouſand ſix hundred rupees in the world, which he ordered his ſervant to bring immediately and preſent to the Dirveſh. The Dirveſh accepted the money, and, laying his hand upon the head of Beloli, ſaluted him king.

Reflexion upon that tale.

The companions of Beloli ridiculed him very much for this action; but he replied, "That, if the thing came to paſs, he had made a cheap purchaſe; if not, the bleſſing of a holy man could do him no harm." Upon a mind naturally ambitious, and in an age of ſuperſtition, this prediction of the Dirveſh might have great effect in promoting its own end; for when a man's mind is once bent upon the attainment of one object, the greateſt difficulties will be often ſurmounted, by a ſteady perſeverance. But to return from this digreſſion.

After Beloli had defeated the vizier, he wrote to the emperor Mahommed, as before related, laying the whole blame of his rebellion

bellion upon the vizier's conduct towards him. When Mahommed basely complied with his desire of cutting off the vizier, Beloli, according to his promise, waited upon the king, that he might be better able to carry on his intrigues at court. He managed his affairs at Delhi so well, that the government of Sirhind was conferred upon him, together with other districts near it, confirmed to him in jagier; which were the means that enabled him to mount the throne, as we have already seen, in the former reign. He had, at the time of his accession, nine sons, Chaja Baezid, Nizam, who was afterwards king, under the name of Secunder; Barbec, Mubarick, Alla, Jemmâl, Jacob, Musah, and Jellâl; and of omrahs of renown, who were related to him, there were thirty-six in the empire. A. D. 1450. Hig. 854. His sons and relations.

As Hamid, the vizier, who conferred the empire upon him, had great influence still in the state, he treated him for some time with honor and respect. Being one day in Hamid's house, at an entertainment, he ordered the companions whom he carried with him, to make themselves appear as foolish and ridiculous as possible, that the vizier might consider them as silly fellows; that so he might be less upon his guard against them. When they accordingly came into company, some tied their shoes to their girdles, and others put them up in the niches of the apartment. Hamid asked them the reason of that extraordinary behaviour. They replied, that they were afraid of thieves. When they had taken their seats upon the carpet, one of them began to praise the flowers, and brightness of the colours, saying, He would be extremely glad to have such a carpet, to send home to his own country, to make caps for his boys. Hamid laughed, and told him, he would give him velvet or brocade for that purpose. When the plates and boxes of perfumes were laid before them, some began to rub the finest otter of roses all over them, others to drink it, and His stratagem against Hamid.

others

A. D. 1450. Hig. 854.

others to devour whole feſtoons of flowers, while the beetle ſtood no chance, but was eat up, cover and all; ſome, who had eat large pieces of chunam, by having their mouths burnt, made a terrible outcry; and, in this kind of foolery, every one was endeavouring to outdo another, while the king and the vizier were almoſt burſting with laughter.

The vizier, imagining that this behaviour proceeded from the king's humour, who had a mind to make merry in his houſe, was extremely pleaſed, and had no ſuſpicion of men given to ſo much mirth. The next viſit the king paid to Hamid, a greater number of his attendants were admitted: but as Hamid had ſtill a greater number of his own friends within the court, it was neceſſary to gain admiſſion for ſome more of the king's people, who were ſtopped without by the guards. The king having before inſtructed them how to proceed in this caſe, they began loudly to wrangle with the guard, and threw out bitter invectives againſt the king, for permitting them to be ſo unworthily treated. They even ſwore that they reſpected the vizier, and would ſee him.

The vizier ſeized in his own houſe.

The vizier hearing this, ordered the doors to be thrown open, and as many to be admitted as the court could contain. This point being gained, the king gave the ſignal, and all his people drawing at once, told Hamid's ſervants to remain quiet, and they ſhould come to no harm. Upon which, two or three ſeized the vizier, and bound him. The king then told him, that gratitude was a ſecurity for his life, but that it was neceſſary he ſhould retire from buſineſs, and ſpend the reſt of his days in the cares of a future ſtate. After this the king ruled without fear or controul.

The ſame year, the eight hundred and fifty-fifth of the Higera, he left Delhi, under the charge of his eldeſt ſon, Baezid, and marched

marched towards Moultan to recruit his army, and to regulate all the western provinces. Some of his omrahs being dissatisfied at this time, left him, and joined Mahmood, king of Jionpoor, who, during the absence of Beloli, in the beginning of the year eight hundred and fifty-six, advanced with a great army, and laid siege to Delhi. Beloli hastened from Debalpoor, march by march, nor halted till he reached Perah, within thirty miles of Delhi.

A. D. 1451. Hig. 855. Beloli regulates the western provinces.

Mahmood sent thirty thousand horse, and thirty elephants, under the command of Herevi, against him. When the action began, Cuttub, who excelled in archery, having sunk an arrow in the forehead of one of Herevi's elephants, the animal became outrageous, and broke the lines. Cuttub, in the mean time, advancing against Diria Lodi, one of the disaffected omrahs, who had joined Mahmood, cried out—"For shame! Diria, where is your "honor, thus to wage war against your own kindred, and to "invest your wife and family in the city of Delhi, when you "ought rather to defend them against your natural enemies?" "Pursue me not," said Diria, "and I am gone;" and he immediately wheeled off, followed by all the Patans, or Afghans, in Herevi's army. The other troops being thus deserted, gave way, and Herevi was taken prisoner; but having, with his own hand, just killed the brother of Rai Kirren, that omrah, in revenge, struck off his head, and sent it to the emperor. Upon receiving the news of this defeat, Mahmood raised the siege of Delhi, and retreated with great precipitation to Jionpoor.

Beloli defeats the army of Mahmood.

The power of Beloli became firmly established, and he began to turn his thoughts upon new acquisitions. His first movement was towards Mewat, where Hamid, the vizier, submitted himself to his authority. The emperor took seven pergunnahs from Hamid, and

A. D. 1452. Hig. 856.

and permitted him to hold the remainder in fee. Beloli from thence marched to Birren, and Diria, governor of Simbol, presented him with seven more pergunnahs, and submitted in like manner. He then took the rout of Koli, and confirmed Isah in that government. He continued his progress to Burhanabad, and gave that province to Mubarick, while Boga was delivered over to Rai Partab. But when he advanced to Raberi, Cuttub, the son of Hassen, the governor, shut himself up in the fort, but the king took it in a few days by capitulation, and again settled him in the same government. Beloli marching from thence to Attava, regulated that government, and confirmed the former Suba.

The king of the East has designs upon Delhi.

An omrah, called Jonah, quitted, about this time, the court in disgust, and joined Mahmood, king of the East, from whom he received the government of Shumseabad. Jonah instigated Mahmood to make another attempt upon Delhi, who, for that purpose, took the route of Attava, where he met Beloli. The armies, the first day of their appearance in sight, on both sides sent out parties to skirmish, but nothing remarkable was done, and, the next day, they began to treat, when it was agreed, that Beloli should keep possession of all the countries possessed by the emperor Mubarick, and that Mahmood should hold all that was in the possession of Sultan Ibrahim, of Jionpoor; that the former should give up all the elephants taken in the engagement with Herevi, and the latter turn Jonah out of his government.

Offended with Beloli.

Mahmood, immediately after this pacification, returned to Jionpoor, and Beloli went to Shumseabad to take possession of it. This latter expedition of Beloli greatly offended Mahmood, and he immediately returned to Shumseabad, where the omrahs, Cuttub and Diria, surprized his camp in the night. But during the attack,

attack, the horse of Cuttub having trod upon a tent-pin, threw him, and he was taken by the enemy, and his party retreated to their own camp. Beloli drew out his army in the morning, but received advice that Mahmood had just expired, and that the omrahs had set up his son Mahommed; and, by the mediation of Bibi Raja, the young king's mother, who probably had received previous assurances, a peace was immediately concluded. Mahommed returned to Jionpoor, and Beloli took the rout of Delhi. Dies.

Before the king arrived at the capital, he received a letter from Shumse Chatoon, the sister of Cuttub, conjuring him, in the most tender manner, not to suffer her brother to remain in captivity. This prevailed upon Beloli to break the peace he had just concluded, and to march towards Jionpoor. Mahommed met him near Sirsutti. The younger brother of Mahommed, Hassen, fearing his brother's resentment for some trespass, took this opportunity of marching off, with all his adherents, to Kinnoge. Sittal, his other brother, soon followed him; but the detachment which Beloli had sent after Hassen, met Sittal on the way, and took him prisoner. Beloli determined to keep him as a ransom for Cuttub.

Mahommed assassinated.

In the mean time, the omrahs conspired against Mahommed, king of the Eastern provinces, and having assassinated him, advanced Hassen, his brother, who had fled to Kinnoge, to the throne. Beloli, for what reason we know not, took no advantage of these disorders, but now entered into a truce with Hassen for the space of four years; Cuttub and Sittal being interchangeably released. Beloli returned towards Shumseabad, whither Bir-Singi, the son of Rai Partab, came to pay his respects. But as his father had taken a standard and a pair of drums formerly from the omrah

Treachery of Diria.

Deria in an action, that base man thought to wipe off that dishonour by assassinating Bir-Singhi. Cuttub, the son of Hassen, Mubariz, and Rai Partab, differing with the cruel traitor about this murder, were obliged to fly to Hassen, king of the Eastern provinces. Beloli, after these transactions, returned to Delhi.

Beloli marches against Hassen.

But, upon account of the rebellion of the viceroy of Moultan, and the disorders in Punjaab, he marched towards that quarter. Upon his way, he heard that the Eastern monarch Hassen was advancing, in his absence, with a great army, to take Delhi. He therefore, through necessity, returned, and leaving Delhi in charge of Cuttub and Jehan, he went out to meet the enemy. The two armies having met at the village of Chundwar, they skirmished without intermission for seven days. A peace was at length patched up for the term of three years. At the expiration of this truce, Hassen invested Attava, took it, and drew over Ahmed, governor of Mewat, and Rustum of Koli, to his interest, while Ahmed, who commanded at Selwan, and was also governor of Biana, struck money, and read the chutba in his name. Hassen, with one hundred thousand horse and a thousand elephants, marched from Attava towards Delhi; and Beloli, no ways intimidated by that great force, marched out boldly to meet him. The two armies having advanced to Battevara, encamped for some time in sight of each other, and after some skirmishes, in which there was no superiority of advantage on either side, they again struck up a peace. But this pacification was not permanent. Hassen advanced again towards Delhi some months after, and was opposed at the village of Sinkar, and obliged to depart upon peaceable terms.

Much about this time, the mother of Hassen, Bibi Raja, died at Attava, and the Raja of Gualier and Cuttub went to console

him upon that occasion. When in discourse, Cuttub perceived that Hassen was a bitter enemy of Beloli, he began to flatter him after this manner:—Beloli is one of your dependants, and cannot think of contending long with you. If I do not put you in possession of Delhi, look on my word as nothing. He then, with much art, got leave to depart from Hassen's court, and returned to Delhi, and there he told to Beloli that he had escaped with a great deal of difficulty from the hands of Hassen, who was meditating a fresh war against him. A. D. 1478. Hig. 883.

About this time, the abdicated emperor, Alla, died at Budaoon, upon which Hassen went to settle matters at Budaoon, and, after the funeral ceremonies were over, he took that country from the children of Alla. Marching from thence to Simbol, he imprisoned Mubarick, governor of that province, then marching towards Delhi, in the year eight hundred and eighty-three, he crossed the river Jumma near Gutteruitch. Beloli, who was at Sirhind, upon receiving intelligence of this invasion, returned with all expedition to save his capital. Several slight actions ensued, in which Hassen had, in general, the advantage.

The Emperor Alla dies.

Hassen marches to Delhi.

Cuttub dispatched a person to Hassen, informing him, that Beloli was ready to relinquish all the countries beyond the Ganges, upon condition he should leave him in possession of all the provinces on this side of that river. These terms being accepted, they reversed their hostile spears, and Hassen marched homeward. But Beloli, in a perfidious manner, broke the peace, and, pursuing Hassen, attacked him upon his march, killing a great number, and taking forty omrahs prisoners, besides part of his treasure and equipage. Beloli pursued his victory, and took several districts belonging to Hassen, such as Campul, Pattiali, Shumseabad,

Beloli's perfidy.

A. D. 1478. Hig. 883.

ſeabad, Sickite, Marhera, Sittali, and Koli, appointing agents to manage them under himſelf. But when he had purſued Haſſen as far as Arumbidger, the latter ſtood his ground, and engaged Beloli. The victory being dubious, a peace was patched up between them, the village of Doupamou being ſettled as the boundary between the empires. After this pacification, Haſſen proceeded to Raberi, and Beloli returned to Delhi.

Haſſen could not, however, forget the perfidy of Beloli. He recruited his army, and ſome time after marched againſt him, and met him at the village of Sinhar, when an obſtinate battle enſued, in which Haſſen was defeated, and loſt all his treaſure and baggage; which, together with an addition of reputation, greatly promoted the affairs of Beloli. Haſſen having retreated to Raberi, he was followed thither by Beloli, and upon ſtanding a ſecond engagement, he was again totally defeated. After the battle, he retreated towards Gualier; the raja of Gualier brought him ſome lacks of rupees, elephants, horſes, camels, and a fine ſet of camp equipage, and accompanied him to Calpie.

Beloli marched, in the mean time, to Attava, where he beſieged Ibrahim, the brother of Haſſen, and took the place by capitulation. He, however, generouſly made him a preſent of the fort, and proceeded to Calpie; Haſſen met him upon the banks of the river, where they remained for ſome months. But Rai Chand of Buxar, coming over to Beloli, ſhewed him a paſſable ford in the river, by which he croſſed, and attacking Haſſen, defeated him and drove him to Jionpoor, upon which Beloli turned off to the left towards Kinnoge. Haſſen again met him near that city, but he was once more defeated with great ſlaughter. His regalia and equipage were taken, and alſo the chief lady of his ſeraglio, Bibi

Conza,

Conza, the daughter of Alla, emperor of Delhi, who was treated with great reſpect. Beloli returned, after this victory, to Delhi.

A. D. 1478. Hig. 883.

Affairs of the empire.

Having recruited and regulated his army, he advanced the ſpear of hoſtility again towards Jionpoor. He conquered that country, and gave it to Mubarick Lohani, leaving Cuttub, Jehan, and other omrahs, at Migouli, to ſecure his conqueſts. He himſelf went to Budaoon, where he ſoon after heard of Cuttub's death. Jehan, Mubarick, and other omrahs, though they kept up the appearance of fidelity, were, after the death of Cuttub, concerting meaſures to throw off Beloli's yoke. Beloli being apprized of their intentions, marched towards Jionpoor, and drove away Haſſen, who had made an attempt to recover it, and placed Barbee, one of his own ſons, upon the throne of Jionpoor. He himſelf returned to Calpie, which he took, and gave to his grandſon, Azim Hamaioon, the ſon of his eldeſt ſon Baizied. He directed then his march to Dolepore, raiſing a tribute upon the raja of that place, who began to rank himſelf among Beloli's ſubjects. The king marched from thence to a place in the diſtricts of Rintimpore, which he plundered, and ſoon after returned to Delhi.

Beloli, old and infirm.

Beloli being now extremely old, and infirmities beginning daily to increaſe upon him, he divided his dominions among his ſons, giving Jionpoor to Barbec; Kurrah and Manikpore, to Mubarick; Barage to his nephew Mahommed, famous by the name of Kalla Par, or the Black Mountain; Lucknore and Calpee, to Humaioon, whoſe father, Baezid, was aſſaſſinated a little before by his own ſervant; Budaoon to Chan Jehan, one of his old omrahs, and a relation; and Delhi, with ſeveral countries between the two

 rivers,

A. D. 1488. Hig. 894.

rivers, to his son Nizam, known afterwards by the name of Sultan Secunder, whom he appointed his successor in the imperial dignity.

Some time after this division, the emperor proceeded to Gualier, and raising a tribute of eighty lacks of rupees from the raja of that place, came to Attava, from whence he expelled Sickit Sing, and then turned his face towards Delhi. Falling sick upon his march, many of the omrahs were desirous that he should alter his former will, with respect to the succession, which, they said, was the undoubted right of Humaioon, his grandson. The sultana, upon this, wrote to her son Nizam, who, having heard of his father's illness, was setting out from Delhi, by no means to come, otherwise he might be imprisoned by the omrahs: at the same time the king, by the advice of some omrahs, ordered public letters to be sent him, to hasten him to the camp, that he might see him before his death. Nizam was greatly perplexed how to act upon this nice occasion. He, at length, was advised by Cuttuluk, the vizier of the Eastern emperor Hassen, who was then prisoner at Delhi, to pitch his tents without the city, and to advance by very slow marches. In the mean time, the king's disease overcame him, and he died at Malauli, in the pergunnah of Sikite, in the year eight hundred and ninety-four, having reigned thirty-eight years, eight months, and seven days.

He falls sick.

Dies.

His character.

Beloli was, for those days, esteemed a virtuous and mild prince, executing justice to the utmost of his knowledge, and treating his courtiers rather as his companions than his subjects. When he came to the empire, he divided the public treasure among his friends, and could be seldom prevailed upon to mount the throne, saying, "That it was enough for him, that the world knew he was king, "without his making a vain parade of royalty." He was extremely

tremely temperate in his diet, and feldom eat at home. Though a man of no great literature himfelf, he was fond of the company of learned men, whom he rewarded according to their merit. He had given fo many proofs of perfonal bravery that none could doubt it; at the fame time, he was often cautious to excefs, never chufing to truft much to chance, and delighting greatly in negotiation. A. D. 1488. Hig. 894.

State of Afia.

During the long reign of Beloli, in Delhi, the empire of Perfia remained divided into a number of petty principalities, moft of them fubject to the defcendants of Timur-Bec and Zingis Chan. Ifmaiel, who afterwards founded the dynafty of the Sofis of Perfia, began to make fome figure, in the Weftern Afia, before the death of Beloli. Tranfoxiana, the moft of Chorafſan and the provinces towards the Indus, were fubject to the pofterity of Timur, who were engaged in almoft uninterrupted hoftilities againft one another.

SECUNDER

SECUNDER I.

A. D. 1488. Hig. 894.

THE omrahs, immediately upon the death of Beloli, formed themſelves into a council, in which ſome appeared to be attached to the intereſt of Azim Humaioon, ſome to Barbec, the eldeſt ſon of the Sultan then living, and ſome to Nizam, who had aſſumed the name of Secunder, in conſequence of his father's will. When they were debating, the mother of Secunder, whoſe name was Rana, originally a goldſmith's daughter, but raiſed to the Sultan's bed, by the fame of her beauty, came behind the curtain, in the great tent, and made a ſpeech to the omrahs, in favor of her ſon. Upon which Iſah, the nephew of Beloli, anſwered her, in a diſreſpectful manner, and concluded with ſaying, that a goldſmith's offspring was not qualified to hold the empire.

The omrahs variouſly inclined.

Firmilli's boldneſs.

Firmilli, who had been dignified, by Beloli, with the title of firſt of the nobles, a ſtout daring man, took him up, and told him, That Beloli was yet ſcarce cold in his hearſe, and that the man who threw ſuch ungenerous aſperſions upon his family ought to be deſpiſed. Iſah replied, That ſilence would better become him, who was only a ſervant of the ſtate. Upon which the other roſe up, in a rage, and told him, he was, indeed, a ſervant of Secunder, and would maintain his right againſt all who durſt oppoſe it. He ruſhed out of the council, followed by all his party, and carried off the body of the deceaſed King to Jellali, where he was met by Secunder, who there aſcended his father's throne.

Secunder mounts the throne.

Secunder ſending the corpſe of his father to Delhi, marched againſt Iſah, and having defeated him, afterwards forgave his offence. Returning then to Delhi, he, in the manner of his father, conferred

Defeats and pardons Iſah.

conferred favors upon all his kindred. Secunder had, at this time, six sons, Ibrahim, Jellâl, Ishmaiel, Hassein, Mahmood, and Humaioon; and likewise fifty-three omrahs of distinction of his own family, in his service. A. D. 1488. Hig. 894.

Some time after his accession, Secunder marched towards Raberi, and besieged his own brother, Allum, in the fort of Chundwar, for some days. Allum evacuated the place, and fled to Isah Lodi, at Pattiali. Secunder gave Raberi to Firmilli, went, in person, to Attava, and calling Allum, his brother, to court, gave him possession of that country. He then advanced to Pattiali, engaged Isah a second time, wounded, and defeated him; after which Isah threw himself upon Secunder's mercy, was pardoned, and soon after died of his wound.

Marches against his brother Allum.

Again defeats Isah.

Secunder, about that time, sent a trusty person to Barbec, his brother, King of Jionpoor, desiring he would do him homage, and order his name to be read first in the chutba all over his dominions. Barbec rejected these proposals, and Secunder marched against him. Barbec and Calla Par came out in order of battle to meet him. An action ensued, in which Calla Par, charging too far among the troops of Delhi, was taken prisoner. Secunder, upon seeing him, alighted from his horse, and embraced him, saying, that he esteemed him as his father, and begged to be looked upon as his son. Calla Par, confounded at the honor done him, replied, that, except his life, he had nothing to make a recompence for such kindness, desiring to get a horse, that he might show himself not wholly unworthy of the royal favour. He was accordingly mounted, and perfidiously sold his reputation for a compliment, turning his sword against Barbec; which circumstance, in some measure, contributed to the success of Secunder. The troops of Barbec

Marches against his brother Barbeck.

His policy.

A. D. 1488. Hig. 894. Barbeck defeated,

bec seeing Calla Par charging them, imagined that all his forces were also gone over to the enemy, and betook themselves to flight. Barbec did all that bravery could perform; but finding himself deserted, he fled to Budaoon, while Mubaric, his son, was taken prisoner. Secunder pursuing him close, invested Barbec in Budaoon, who, soon driven to distress, capitulated, and was received with great kindness and respect. The King carried Barbec with him to Jionpoor; but as Hassen, the expelled King of the eastern provinces, was still a powerful prince in Behar, he thought Barbec would be the properest person to check him, and accordingly confirmed him as before in the government of Jionpoor; leaving, however, some trusty friends at his court, upon whom he bestowed estates and jurisdictions, to keep them firm in his own interest.

Secunder marches to Calpie.

Secunder returning to Calpie, took the place from his brother Azim Humaioon, and gave it to Mahmood Lodi. He marched from thence to Kurrah, and Talar the governor paying him homage, he confirmed him in his office, and turning towards the fort of Gualier, he sent one of his omrahs Chaja with an honorary dress to Raja Maan, who dispatched his nephew with presents to accompany the King to Biana. Sherrif, the governor of Biana, met the emperor, upon friendly terms. The King ordered him to give up Biana, and he would appoint him governor of Tellasar, Chandwar, Marrara, and Sekite. Sherrif took Omar Serwani with him to put him in possession of the fort, but when he had got within the walls, he shut the gates upon Omar, and prepared to defend himself. The King despairing to reduce the place, went to Agra, where Hybut, who held that fort under Sherrif, as governor of Biana, shut the gates against him, contrary to his expectation. This insult enraged the Sultan to that degree, that he determined, let the event be what it would, to reduce Sherrif

Sherrif to his obedience. He accordingly, leaving part of his army to besiege Agra, returned in person, with the utmost expedition, towards Biana, which he immediately besieged. The siege proved long and bloody; however, Sherrif, in the end, was obliged to capitulate, in the year eight hundred and ninety seven, and his government was given to Firmilli, who had been dignified with the title of first of the nobles.

A. D. 1491. Hig. 897.

Reduces Biana,

The fort of Agra falling, about the same time, into Secunder's hands, he returned to Delhi, where, in a few days, he received advices of an insurrection at Jionpoor, among the zemindars, to the number of one hundred thousand horse and foot; and that they had already slain Sheri, the brother of Mubarick the governor of Kurrah. Mubarick himself being driven from Kurrah, was taken prisoner by Rai Bhede, of Battea, and Barbec obliged to go to Barage, to sollicit the assistance of Calla Par; so that the King, after twenty two days respite at Delhi, was under the necessity of marching towards Jionpoor. When he arrived at Dilmow, he was joined by Barbec; and Rai Bhede hearing of Secunder's approach, released Mubarick, and the zemindars dispersed themselves. The Sultan carried Barbec to Jionpoor, and having left him there to punish the offenders, he spent a month in hunting about Oud. At Oud intelligence was brought to Secunder, that the zemindars had risen again, and besieged Barbec in Jionpoor. He ordered immediately that Calla Par, Humaioon Serwani, and Lowani, by the way of Oud, and Mubarick by the way of Kurrah, should march against them, and send Barbec prisoner to the presence. His orders were accordingly executed, Barbec was given in charge to Hybut and Omar Serwani, being esteemed an improper person for the government, and too dangerous to be trusted with his liberty.

and Agra.

An insurrection at Jionpoor.

The

A. D. 1491. Hig. 897.

The King, after these transactions, marched towards Chinar, which was held for Sultan Hassen of the East; upon his approach, the garrison made a sally, and were driven back into the fort; but Secunder, upon reconnoitring the place, looked upon it as almost impregnable, and immediately left it, marching his army towards Battea. Rai Bhede came out of Battea, and paid him homage, upon which the King confirmed him in his dominions, and returned to Areil, ordering Rai Bhede to accompany him; but Rai Bhede suspecting some design against himself, left all his retinue, and deserted the camp alone. Secunder sent him back his effects. He, however, permitted his troops to plunder the country of Areil, and crossing the river, by the way of Kurrah, went to Dilmow, where he married the widow of Sheri, the late governor of that place. From Dilmow Secunder marched to Shumseabad, where he remained six months, and then went to Simbol; but returning from thence, in a few days, to Shumseabad, he plundered the town of Mudeo-makil, where a band of banditti resided. Secunder spent the rainy season at Shumseabad. In the year nine hundred, Secunder made another campaign towards Battea, defeating Bir Singh, the son of Rai Bhede, at Carrangatti, who fled to Battea; but, upon the King's approach, Rai Bhede took the route of Sirkutch, and died upon his march. Secunder, after this victory, proceeded to Sezdewar; but provisions growing scarce in his camp, he was obliged to return to Jionpoor, having, in this expedition, lost a great part of his cavalry by fatigue, bad roads, and the want of forage.

Rai Bhede submits.

Lickim, the son of Rai Bhede, and other zemindars, wrote to Sultan Hassen, the titular King of the East, now in possession of the province of Behâr, that the cavalry of Secunder was now in a wretched condition, and that it was an excellent opportunity for him

him to take satisfaction for his former defeats. This induced Hassen to put his army in motion, and march directly against Secunder. The Emperor hearing of his intentions, put his army upon the best footing possible, and crossed the Ganges to meet him, which he did thirty six miles from Benaris: An obstinate battle was fought, in which Hassen was defeated, and fled to Battea. A. D. 14[illegible] Hig. [illegible] Hassen sets upon Secunder, but is overthrown.

Secunder leaving his camp with a proper guard, pursued the fugitives for three days, with a party of horse; but hearing that Hassen was gone to Behar, he stopped, and upon the ninth day returned to his camp. He soon after marched with his whole army towards Behar, but upon his approach, Hassen left Cundu to guard the city, and fled himself to Calgaw, in the dominion of Bengal. Alla, then King of Bengal, called Hassen to his court, and treated him with the greatest respect during the remainder of his days, which he passed with him; so that with Hassen the royal line of Jionpoor was extinguished. Secunder marches to Behar,

Secunder, from his camp at Deopar, sent a division of his army against Cundu, who evacuated the city and fled, leaving the whole country open to the enemy. The King left Mohabut with a force in Behar, and marched towards Turhat, the raja of which submitted himself to his clemency, and laying down a large sum, agreed to pay an annual tribute. To collect the tribute, the Sultan left Mubarick, and returned to Derveshpoor, and from thence went to visit the tomb of Shech Sherrif at Behar, and distributed presents to the dirveshes who lived there upon the charity of pilgrims. which is evacuated. Bengal invaded.

Secunder having regulated his army, marched towards Bengal; but when he had reached Cuttlishpoor, Alla King of Bengal sent

Danial

A. D. 1494. Hig. 900.

Danial his ſon to oppoſe him. Secunder detached Zere Zichme, one of his generals, to acquaint him, that he had no intention to ſubdue the country, but as their dominions now bordered upon each other, it became neceſſary to know upon what footing he muſt eſteem Alla, before he left that country. The King of Bengal gladly accepted of a peace, wherein it was ſtipulated, that neither monarch ſhould permit any of their governors to invade each other's dominions, and that neither of them ſhould give protection to the other's enemies.

A peace concluded between Secunder and Alla.

Secunder returned to Dirveſhpoor. Mubarick at that time dying, the care of Turhat was given to Azim Humaioon, the ſon of Chan Jehan, and Behar was beſtowed upon Deria, the ſon of Mubarick. There happened, at this time, a great dearth in the country, but all duties being taken off by the King's order, that calamity was in a great meaſure mitigated. Secunder, in the mean time, reducing the diſtricts of Sarin, which were then in the hands of ſome zemindars, gave the lands in jagiers to ſome of his omrahs; then returning by the way of Movilligur to Jionpoor, he reſided there ſix months.

A dearth in Hindoſtan.

Secunder having aſked the daughter of Sal Bahin, raja of Battea, in marriage, the father refuſed to comply with his requeſt. Secunder, to revenge this affront, put his army in motion againſt the raja, in the year nine hundred and four, and marching to Battea, ſacked it. After having ravaged the country round Bandugur, he returned to Jionpoor, where he ſpent ſome time, in the civil regulations of the empire. About this time, the accounts of Mubarick Lodi being inſpected for the time of his adminiſtration in Jionpoor, and a great balance being found due to the royal revenue, the King ordered it to be levied upon him. This ſeverity

Battea taken and deſtroyed.

ſeverity greatly diſguſted the omrahs, among whom Mubarick was very much eſteemed. A faction accordingly aroſe in the army, which firſt diſcovered itſelf by private quarrels. For, one day, as the Sultan and his court were playing a party at club and ball, on horſeback, the club of Hybut, by accident, or deſign, wounded one Soliman in the head. Chizer, the brother of Soliman, came up, and returned the compliment to Hybut; ſo that, in a few minutes, the parties on both ſides joined in the quarrel, and the whole field was in one uproar and confuſion.

A. D. 1498. Hig. 904.

The omrahs diſſatisfied.

Quarrels in the camp.

Secunder, fearing a conſpiracy, fled to the palace, but nothing of that kind tranſpiring, he made another party at the ſame game, ſome days thereafter, and a quarrel of the ſame nature enſued, for which Shumſe Chan, who begun it, was diſgraced, and baſtinadoed. But the Sultan would not be ſatisfied but that there was ſome plot in agitation, and therefore ordered his guards to be ſelected, and to keep upon the watch. The King's jealouſies were not groundleſs; for at that time, Hybut, and two other chiefs, had propoſed to Fatti Chan, the King's brother, to cut off the Sultan, who, they ſaid, was now diſliked by the generality of the chiefs, and to place Fatti upon the throne. Fatti deſiring ſome time to conſider of it, diſcloſed the ſecret to Shech Cabuli, and to his own mother, who adviſed him againſt ſo horrid an action; and, leſt the affair ſhould, by any other means, tranſpire, ſhe deſired him to acquaint the King of their propoſal. This he did accordingly, and the conſpirators were detached upon different ſervices, where they were put to death by Secunder's orders.

The Sultan ſuſpects a conſpiracy.

A plot diſcovered.

Secunder, in the year nine hundred and five, marched to Simbol, where he ſpent four years in pleaſure, and in tranſacting civil affairs. But hearing of ſome bad adminiſtration of Aſghir, the governor of Delhi,

Secunder retires for four years to Simbol.

A. D. 1499. Hig. 905.

Delhi, he sent an order to Chawass Chan, governor of Matchiwarri, to march to Delhi, and send Asghir prisoner to court. The governor receiving advice of this order, left Delhi, and threw himself at the King's feet, but not being able to form any excuse for his bad practices, he was ordered into confinement.

A remarkable instance of religious persecution.

At this time there happened a remarkable instance of religious zeal and persecution. A brahmin, whose name was Bhodin, upon being abused by a Mahommedan, for his idolatry, happened to make a very moderate, but what proved to him a fatal reply. The reply was this: "That he esteemed the same God to be the "object of all worship, and, therefore, believed the Mahommedan "and Hindoo religions to be equally good." The bigotted Mahommedan, for what he thought the impiety of this answer, summoned the brahmin immediately before the casy, or chief judge of the city. The affair making some noise, by the various opinions of the public, the King called together all the Mahommedan doctors of fame in the empire, to decide the cause. After many long disputes, the doctors brought in their opinion, that the brahmin ought to be forced to turn Mahommedan, or be put to death. The brahmin, however charitable he might have been to all opinions upon religion, refused to apostatize, and accordingly died a martyr to his faith, which reflects no small dishonor upon Secunder and his inquisitors.

When Chawass, whom we have already mentioned, entered Delhi, he found an order from the Emperor to proceed immediately to court, with which he instantly complied. At the same time, a certain omrah called Seid Sirwani came from Lahore, who was a man of a very factious disposition, and commenced some treasonable projects, for which he, Tattar, and Mahummud, were banished to Guzerat.

Some factious omrahs banished.

In

I

In the nine hundred and seventh of the Higera, Rai Man Sing, of Gualier, sent one of his dependants called Nehal to the King with rich presents; but as this embassador talked in too high a strain, Secunder ordered him to depart, and declared war against his master. But he was prevented from the execution of his purpose, for some time, by the death of Firmilli, governor of Biana, and by those disturbances in that province, which succeeded that governor's death. The government of Biana having devolved upon Ameid Soliman, the son of Firmilli, who was yet too young and unexperienced for such a charge, the King gave that appointment to Chawass. Sifdir was sent with a force to reduce Agra, which belonged to the province of Biana, and had then revolted; another detachment being sent, at the same time, to reduce the fort of Dolipoor, which was in the possession of Raja Benacdeo, who had begun to make warlike preparations. Here Chaja Bein, a warrior of great fame, fell by the sword, which so irritated Secunder, who had a great esteem for him, that he marched himself against that place. Upon his approach Benacdeo left some friends in the fort, and fled towards Gualier, but the garrison, the next night, evacuated the place, and left the King to take possession of it. He tarried there about a month, and then marched to Gualier. The raja of which place, changing his haughty stile, now humbly sued for peace, sending to him Seid, Baboo, Rai Ginis, and others, who had, at different times, fled from Secunder, and taken protection under him. At the same time, he sent his own son, Bickermagit, with presents, who had the address to procure peace.

A. D. 1501. Hig. 907.

Secunder's designs against Gualier.

Secunder returned to Dolipoor, which he again bestowed upon Benacdeo; then marching to Agra, he, for the first time, made that city imperial, by fixing his residence there, and abandoning the

Makes Agra the royal residence.

A. D. 1504. Hig. 910.

the city of Delhi. Here he remained during the rains, and, in the year nine hundred and ten, marched towards Munderael, which he took, and deſtroyed the Hindoo temples, ordering moſques to be built in their ſtead. Secunder returning to Dolipoor, removed the raja from his office, and gave it to one Kimir. He paſſed from thence to Agra, giving his omrahs leave to return to their reſpective eſtates.

An earthquake at Agra.

In the following year, upon Sunday the third of Siffer, there was a violent earthquake in Agra, ſo that the mountains ſhook on their broad baſes, and every lofty building was levelled with the ground, ſome thouſands being buried in the ruins. Secunder, in the ſame year, moved towards Gualier, and ſtopped by the way ſome time at Dolipoor, where he left his family, and, with an unincumbered army of horſe, proceeded to the hills, to plunder ſome Hindoo rajas, from whom he took great ſpoils, and ravaged their peaceful habitations. Juſt as the King was paſſing by the town of Javer, in the dominions of the raja of Gualier, he was attacked by a reſolute body of men, who had lain in ambuſh for him; but, by the bravery of Awid and Ahmed, the ſons of Chan Jehan, the Hindoos were defeated, and a great number of rajaputs put to the ſword.

Secunder beſieges Awintgur, which is taken.

The Sultan returned to Agra; and, in the year nine hundred and twelve, he went towards the fort of Awintgur; and, as he had deſpaired of reducing Gualier, he bent his whole ſtrength to the reduction of this place. It was accordingly, in a ſhort time, taken, and all the rajaput garriſon put to the ſword, the temples deſtroyed, and moſques ordered to be built in their place. This government was conferred upon Bickin, the ſon of Mujahid Chan, when ſome envious perſons gave the King information that Mu-

jahid had taken a bribe from the raja of Awintgur, when they were marching againſt him, in order to divert the King from that reſolution. This being proved, Mujahid was impriſoned at Dolipoor; after which the King, returning towards Agra, on the way loſt eight hundred men, in one day, for want of water. A. D. 1506. Hig. 912.

Marches againſt Narvar.

Secunder, eyeing from his march the ruins of Agra, moved towards Narvar, a ſtrong fort, in the diſtrict of Malava, then in the poſſeſſion of the Hindoos. He ordered Jellal, governor of Calpie, to advance before him, and inveſt the place, which was accordingly done. When the King arrived before Narvar, Jellal drew up his army, out of reſpect, that the King might review them as he paſſed. This circumſtance proved very hurtful to Jellal, for, from that time, the King became jealous of his power, and determined to ruin him. Secunder ſurrounded the place, which was ſixteen miles in circumference, and began to carry on the ſiege. The ſiege was now protracted eight months, when the Sultan received intelligence, that a treaſonable correſpondence was carried on between ſome of his omrahs and the garriſon, for which Jellal and Sheri were impriſoned in the fort of Awintgur. The garriſon, ſoon after, was obliged to capitulate, for want of proviſions, and the King remained, for the ſpace of ſix months, at Narvar, breaking down temples, and building moſques. He there alſo eſtabliſhed a kind of monaſtery, which he filled with divines and learned men.

Shab ul Dien, the ſon of Naſir, King of Malava, being at this time diſcontented with his father, propoſed to have a conference with Secunder. The King immediately ſent him a dreſs, and promiſed to ſupport him in the government of Chinderi, againſt the power of his father. But circumſtances ſo fell out, that it became unneceſſary to take that unnatural ſtep.

 The

A. D. 1509. Hig. 915. Various motions of the King.

The Sultan, in the month of Shuban, in the year nine hundred and fourteen, marched from Narvar; but after he had advanced to the river Ganges, he began to confider that it would be proper to furround that fortrefs with another wall. He therefore ordered that work to be immediately begun, and then he himfelf took the rout of Lohar. At that place he beftowed Calpie, in jagier, upon Niamut Chatoon, the wife of Cuttub Lodi, and daughter of the prince Jellâl, his brother. He then directed his march towards the capital, and arriving at Hitgat, fent a detachment againft fome rebels in that country, and deftroyed all their habitations, placing fmall garrifons at proper diftances to overawe them. About this time he received advices, that Ahmed, the fon of Mubarick Lodi, governor of Lucknore, had turned idolater; upon which orders were difpatched to fend him prifoner to court, and that his fecond brother, Sud Chan, fhould take the adminiftration of affairs in his ftead. In the year nine hundred and fifteen, the King marched to Dolipoor, and ordered caravanferas to be built at every ftage. Mahummud Nagori having defeated Ali and Abu Bekir, who had confpired againft him, they fled to Secunder for protection. Mahummud, fearing they would bring the King againft him, fent prefents by way of prevention, and ordered the chutba to be read in Secunder's name. The Sultan, pleafed with his fubmiffion, fent him a drefs of confirmation, and returned to Agra.

Tranfactions at Dolipoor.

He fpent fome months there in building, making fpacious gardens, and in hunting, then returned to Dolipoor, ordering Soliman, the fon of Firmilli, to fuccour Huffen Chan. Soliman very imprudently told the King, that he could not prevail upon himfelf to leave the prefence. This expreffion threw Secunder into a violent rage, and he forthwith ordered him from his fervice and camp by next morning at day-light, or that otherwife all his effects fhould be given to the foldiers as public plunder.

Much

Much about this time, Bogit Chan, governor of Chinderi, who held that place of the King of Malava, seeing the weakness of his own prince, turned his face to Secunder. That monarch sent Amad ul Muluck to support Bogit in his rebellion. He soon after returned to Agra, and issued a proclamation bearing the submission of Bogit, and his own consequent right to that country. He sent more troops and omrahs to Chinderi, who entirely settled it as an appendage of the empire. Bogit found matters carried on in his government in such a manner, that he was constrained to resign his office, and come to court. A. D. 1509. Hig. 915. Reduces Chinderi.

After this, we find no transactions worthy of memory in the empire, till the year nine hundred and twenty-two. Ali Nagori, suba of Suisuper, in that year prevailed upon Dowlat, governor of Rintimpore, which he then held of Malava, to deliver the fort to Secunder, if that monarch should come in person to take possession of it. Secunder, with great joy, closed with the proposal, and set out towards Biana, to which place the governor of Rintimpore came to meet him, and was graciously received. But Ali, who had been disappointed in some favors which he expected for bringing this matter to bear, resolved still to prevent the accomplishment of it. He had so much influence upon the governor, that he made him retract his promise about giving up the fort, though he had put himself in the Sultan's power. The Sultan having found out the cause of this change, disgraced Ali, and deprived him of his government, but was obliged to return to Agra without succeeding in his design upon Rintimpore, setting the governor at liberty, notwithstanding he had so egregiously deceived him. Peace in the empire.

To Agra the King summoned all the distant omrahs together, with an intention to reduce Gualier. But he was, in the midst of his

A. D. 1516. Hig. 922. his preparations, in the year nine hundred and twenty three, taken ill of a quinfey, of which he died, having reigned, with great reputation and ability, twenty eight years and five months. The parts, which he exhibited, during his reign, juſtified the choice of his father, who ſingled him out, though a younger ſon, as the perſon moſt capable to ſupport a title to which his family had no claim, by inheritance.

Dies.

State of Aſia at the death of Secunder.

A great revolution happened in Perſia, during the reign of Secunder in Hindoſtan. Iſmael Sofi, having reduced the weſtern provinces of Perſia, poſſeſſed himſelf of Choraſſan and the weſtern Tartary, by the defeat and death of Shubiani, the Uſbec, who had diſpoſſeſſed the family of Timur of thoſe countries. The famous Sultan Baber, in the mean time, continued to reign in Cabul and the provinces towards the Indus.

IBRAHIM II.

SECUNDER dying at Agra, his son Ibrahim * immediately succeeded him in the throne. This prince, contrary to the maxims and policy of his father and grandfather, behaved himself with insupportable pride and arrogance to his friends and family. One foolish expression of his was, that king's had no relations, but that every body should be the slaves of royalty. The omrahs, of the tribe of Lodi, who were always before honoured with a seat in the presence, were now constrained to stand by the throne, with their hands crossed before them. They were so much disgusted with this insolence, that they privately became his enemies.

A. D. 1516. Hig. 922. Ibrahim proud and arrogant.

A conspiracy therefore was formed, by the omrahs of Lodi, in which it was agreed to leave Ibrahim in possession of Delhi, and a few dependent provinces, and to place the prince Jellal, his brother, upon the throne of Jionpoor. Jellal marched from Calpie, by the aid and advice of the disaffected omrahs, and mounted the throne of Jionpoor. He appointed his cousin Fatte Chan his vizier, who brought over all the omrahs of the Eastern provinces to his interest.

A conspiracy.

The empire divided.

Jehan Lohani came at that time from Beri, to congratulate Ibrahim upon his accession, and, in a very high strain, began to blame the omrahs for dividing the empire, which, he said, would be attended with many evil consequences to the family of Lodi. The omrahs, sensible of the impropriety of their conduct, deter-

Designs to reunite it.

* His titles were, Sultan Ibrahim Ben Sultan Secunder.

mined,

A. D. 1517. Hig. 923.

mined, as Jellal could not be yet well eſtabliſhed, to call him back, and ſo diveſt him of his new aſſumed royalty. They accordingly ſent Hybut, with deceptious letters, to recal him, ſaying, that there was a ſcheme for him in agitation, and that it was neceſſary he ſhould ſpeedily come to ſupport it.

The omrahs endeavour in vain to inveigle Jellal from Jionpoor.

But Hybut having over-acted his part, by flattery and importunity, Jellal ſuſpected a plot againſt himſelf, and wrote them a genteel excuſe. They, however, not diſcovering his jealouſy, ſent Firmilli and other omrahs to enforce the requeſt of Hybut; but Jellal took no notice of their ſolicitations or intrigues. Ibrahim, and his omrahs, finding that theſe baits would not take with Jellal, iſſued a proclamation, declaring all the omrahs, who ſhould join him, traitors to the ſtate; at the ſame time ſending preſents and meſſengers to all the principal officers in thoſe parts. Theſe means had the deſired effect, and the omrahs, on the ſide of Jellal, were brought over from his intereſt, by degrees. The affairs of Jellal declining in this manner, he ſaw that nothing but a reſolute attempt could retrieve them. He accordingly marching to Calpie, ſecured his family in that fort; and, collecting all his ſtrength, aſſumed the title of emperor, under the title of Jellal ul Dien, and was determined to try his fortune in the field. He ſent, at the ſame time, a truſty ambaſſador to Azim Humaioon, who held Callinger for Ibrahim, and had a great army in pay, to beg his aſſiſtance. Azim was prevailed upon to join him; and a reſolution was formed, firſt to ſettle the countries about Jionpoor, and afterwards to think of affairs of ſtill greater moment. They accordingly marched, with all expedition, againſt Mubarick Lodi, ſuba of Oud, whom they drove to Lucknore.

Ibrahim

Ibrahim hearing of these transactions, marched his army to that quarter, sending his other brothers, in confinement, to Hassi, where he pensioned them for life. Upon his march towards Oud, he was informed that Azim Humaioon had deserted Jellal, and was now upon his way to meet him, which gave him great joy. He sent some omrahs to escort him to his camp, where he was very favourably received. A number of other omrahs, of those parts, joined Ibrahim; and he dispatched the greatest part of his army, under the command of Azim Humaioon Lodi, against his brother. But before Azim could come up with Jellal, he threw a garrison into Calpie, and, with thirty thousand horse, gave him the slip, and marched directly towards Agra; while Azim laid siege to Calpie. Jellal had it now in his power either to take possession of, or to plunder, the treasury. But he seems to have been perfectly infatuated. Adam, who was in the city with a small garrison, not only prevailed upon him to relinquish that advantage, but amused him with hopes of his brother's favor, till he sent him all his ensigns of royalty. Adam went so far as to promise to Jellal the government of Calpie, and other advantages, without having any powers of treating from the king.

A. D. 1518. Hig. 924.

Jellal marches to Agra,

Adam sent the whole to Ibrahim, and acquainted him of every particular. But the king having now taken Calpie, and the treaty being concluded without his authority, he took no notice of it, but marched against Jellal, who, now deserted by his army for his pusillanimity, was obliged to fly to Gualier, and solicit the protection of the raja of that place. Ibrahim came to Agra, where he remained to regulate the affairs of the government, which, since the death of Secunder, had fallen into great confusion. The omrah Karim was sent to take charge of Delhi, and Mungu to Chunderi.

and flies to Gualier.

A. D. 1519. Hig. 925.

An army ſent againſt Gualier.

About this time, the king, without any apparent reaſon, conceived a diſguſt at Miah Boah, who was formerly vizier to Secunder, and put him in chains, conferring at the ſame time great honours upon his ſon. He then formed a reſolution of reducing Gualier, ordering Azim Humaioon to march from Kurrah againſt it, with thirty thouſand horſe, and three hundred elephants. Seven other omrahs, with armies, were ſent to reinforce Azim. Jellal, who had taken refuge in Gualier, being intimidated, fled to the king of Malava. The imperial army arriving before Gualier, inveſted the place, and in a few days raja Man Sing, who was a prince of great valour and capacity, died, and his ſon Bickermagit ſucceeded him in the rajaſhip. After the ſiege had been carried on ſome months, the army of Ibrahim at length poſſeſſed themſelves of an outwork at the foot of the hill, upon which the fort, called Badilgur, ſtood. They found in that place a brazen bull, which had been a long time worſhipped there, and ſent it to Agra; from whence it was afterwards conveyed to Delhi, and placed at the gate of Bagdat.

Jellal taken, and aſſaſſinated.

The unfortunate Jellal, who had gone over to king Mahmood of Malava, not being well received there, fled to the raja of Kurykatka, but was ſeized upon by the way, and ſent priſoner to Ibrahim's camp. Ibrahim pretended to ſend him priſoner to Haſſi, but gave private orders to aſſaſſinate him upon the way, which was accordingly done.—What are thoſe charms in power, which could induce a man to ſhed the blood of a brother? Nor was Ibrahim ſatisfied with the death of Jellal; he imbrued his hands in the blood of ſeveral omrahs of great diſtinction. He called Azim Serwani from Gualier, when juſt upon the point of taking the place, impriſoned him and his ſon Fatte, turning out his other ſon Iſlam from the ſubaſhip of Kurrah. But when Iſlam had heard of his father's and brother's impriſonment, and of his

own

own difgrace, he erected the ftandard of rebellion, defeating Ahmed who was fent to take his government. The Sultan having received advices of the reduction of Gualier, which had been for a hundred years in the hands of the Hindoos, he had leifure to turn all his power to fupprefs the rebellion at Kurrah. Azim Humaioon and Seid, after the reduction of the place, were permitted to go to their jagiers at Lucknore; where, joining the intereft of Iflam, they ftirred up more difturbances. A. D. 1519. Hig. 925.

A rebellion.

Ibrahim placing very little dependence upon the fidelity of the troops which he had near him, iffued orders for thofe of the diftant provinces to repair to his ftandards. He, in the mean time, conferred great favours upon Ahmed, the brother of Azim Humaioon, and giving him the command of the army, fent him againft Iflam. Ahmed having arrived in the environs of Kinnoge, Eckbal, a dependent of Azim Sirwani, rufhed out from an ambufh with five thoufand horfe, and having cut off a number of the imperial troops, made good his retreat. The king was greatly exafperated againft Ahmed, upon receiving intelligence of this defeat. He wrote to him not to expect his favor, if he did not quickly exterminate the rebels; at the fame time, by way of precaution, fending another army to fupport him. The rebels were now about forty thoufand ftrong in cavalry, befides five hundred elephants, and a great body of infantry. When Ahmed had received the reinforcement which we have mentioned, and the two armies came in fight of each other, raja Bochari, who was efteemed the firft man for parts in that age, was defirous of bringing affairs to an amicable accommodation. Overtures being made, the rebels confented to difmifs their army, upon condition that Azim Sirwani fhould be fet at liberty. Ibrahim would not hearken to thefe terms. He fent orders to Dirai Lohani, governor of Behar, to Nifir Lohani, and Firmilli, to

 advance

A. D. 1519. Hig. 925.

advance from that quarter, against the rebels. The insurgents foolishly permitted themselves to be amused till the armies from Behar joined. The treaty being then broke off, they were reduced either to fly or fight upon unequal terms.

They resolved upon the latter, and accordingly drew up in order of battle. Urged on by despair and resentment, they did justice to valor, and were upon the point of defeating the imperialists, when Islam was killed, and Seid dismounted and taken. These unfortunate accidents discouraging the troops, they stopped short, and soon after turned their face to flight. Their dominions, treasure, and baggage, fell at once into the hands of the king.

The rebels overthrown.

Ibrahim's tyranny and cruelty.

Ibrahim now gave full scope to his hatred and resentment against the omrahs of Secunder, and many of them were barbarously put to death. Azim Humaioon Sirwani, Miah Boah, and others, who were in confinement, were, at the same time, assassinated, and fear and terror took possession of every heart. These cruelties and assassinations gave rise to another rebellion. Dirai Lohani, suba of Behar, Jehan Lodi, and Firmilli, turned their heads from the yoke of obedience. Ibrahim having received intelligence of this defection, sent a private order to the saints of Chunderi, to take off Firmilli, suba of that country, and these holy persons accordingly assassinated him in his bed. This fresh instance of Ibrahim's baseness and tyranny, served only to create him more enemies.

Another rebellion.

Dirai, of the tribe of Lodi, suba of Beria, died about this time, and his son of the same name, assumed the title of emperor, under the name of Mahommed, with all the ensigns of royalty. He was joined by all the discontented omrahs, and found himself at the head of a hundred thousand horse, with which he took possession

session of all the countries as far as Simbol, defeating the imperial troops in repeated engagements. Ghazi Lodi came about this time with the army from Lahore, by the Sultan's orders. But having heard of his tyrannies, by the way, he was apprehensive of danger to himself, and returned to his father, Dowlat, at Lahore. Dowlat, seeing no safety but in extremity, revolted from the Sultan, and sollicited Baber, the mogul, who then reigned in Cabul, to come to the conquest of Hindostan. The first thing, however, that Dowlat did, was to obtain from Baber, Alla, the brother of Ibrahim, now in the service of Cabul. Supporting him, as a cover to his measures, with his whole force, he reduced the country as far as Delhi. Alla was joined by the omrahs of those parts, so that his army now consisted of upwards of forty thousand horse, with which he invested Delhi. Ibrahim resolved to march against him, but when he came within six crores of Alla's army, he was surprized by that prince in the night. A confused and tumultuous fight was maintained to daylight, when Ibrahim found that he was deserted by some of his omrahs, who had joined Alla. Ibrahim observing, in the morning, that the troops of Alla were dispersed, in plundering the royal camp, rallied a number of his troops, and the greatest part of his elephants, returned to the attack, and drove him off the field, with great slaughter. Ibrahim entered Delhi in triumph, and Alla, seeing no hopes of reducing it, retreated to Punjaab.

A. D. 1525. Hig. 932.

In the year nine hundred and thirty-two, no remarkable event happened in the empire, till Baber drew his army against Ibrahim, as will be hereafter related at large, overthrew him in the field of Panniput, deprived him of his life and kingdom, and transferred the empire from the Afgan tribe of Lodi, to the family of Timur. Ibrahim reigned twenty years: a cruel, proud, and wicked prince, though possessed of ordinary parts, and extremely brave.

For

State of Asia.

For the first eight years of the emperor Ibrahim, Ismael, the first of the Sofi family, reigned in Persia. He was succeeded by his son Shaw Tamasp, who acceded to the Persian throne, upon the death of his father, which happened in the nine hundred and thirtieth of the Higera.

BABER *.

ABU SEID, who held the titles of the mogul empire in the western Tartary, and in Chorassan, dying in Irac †, left eleven sons, Ahmed, Mahmood, Mahommed, Sharoch, Ali, Amer Shech, Abubekir, Murad, Chilili, Mirza Willid, and Amer ‡. Four of the brothers arrived to the dignity of kings; Ali to the throne of Cabul; Ahmed to the kingdom of Samarcand; Amer to the united thrones of Indija and Firghana; and Mahmood to those of Kundiz and Buduchshan. Eunus, king of Mogulstan, gave to each of those four kings one of his daughters in marriage, excepting to Ali. Amer, by Catlick Negar, the daughter of Eunus, had a son, whom he named Baber, born in the year eight hundred and eighty eight. The relation between Timur § and Baber, is this: Sultan Abu Seid, the grandfather of Baber, was the son of Mahommed, the son of Miran Shaw, and grandson of Timur, lord of ages. A. D. 1525. Hig. 932. Of the family of Baber.

Baber, when as yet but twelve years old, discovered a capacity so uncommon at that age, that his father Amer gave him the kingdom of Indija; and, when Amer, upon Monday, the fourth of Ramzan, in the eight hundred and ninety ninth of the Higera, fell, by an accident, from the roof of a pigeon-house, and was Baber's uncommon genius.

* His titles at length were, Zehir ul Dien Mahommed Baber.

† One of the provinces of Persia.

‡ It is to be observed, that Ferishta prefixed the title of Mirza Sultan, which signifies Prince, to every one of the eleven sons of Abu Seid, on account of their being descended from Timur Bec, in the fourth degree.

§ Tamerlane.

 killed,

A. D. 1525. Hig. 932. Succeeds his father.

killed, Baber was advanced to the throne, and assumed the title of protector of the faith.

Besieged by Ahmed, &c.

Ahmed, and Mahmood, the uncles of Baber, led their armies against him, to be revenged of him, in his nonage, for the war of his father against them, hoping by the advantage which the accession of a child might afford, to appropriate his kingdoms to themselves. But an accident defeated their ambitious designs. After besieging him in the capital of Indija, there happened so great a mortality among their troops and cavalry, that they were glad to enter into treaty, and to raise the siege. Ahmed died upon his way to Samarcand *.

Reduces some rebellious governors.

The kings of Cashgar and Chutun, both of the family of Timur, soon after drew a great army towards the borders of Orgund, and made war upon Baber; but he obliged them to retreat. He, at this time, appointed Hassen governor of Indija, who was not faithful to his trust. He rebelled in the year nine hundred, but Baber marched against him, and obliged him to fly towards Samarcand. In the same year, Ibrahim Sarid, the governor of Ashira, rebelled, and read the chutba in the name of Beisinker, the son of Ahmed, who had succeeded to the throne of Samarcand. Baber marched against him, and besieged him in Ashira, which he reduced in the space of forty days; and the rebel was obliged to come forth with a sword and coffin before him. Baber, however, forgave him, and marched to Chojind, and from thence to Sharuchia, to meet his uncle Mahmood, with whom he was now re-

* The city of Samarcand is situated in latitude 41° 20, and in longitude 95. It is the chief town of Maver-ul-nerc, or Transoxiana. It is much fallen off from its ancient splendor, though it is still a considerable and populous city. A good trade is driven on there, in several manufactures, especially silk paper, peculiar to that town.

con-

conciled. He remained with Mahmood a few days, and then returned to Indija. A. D. 1495. Hig. 901.

Baisinker, king of Samarcand, having possessed himself of Artaba, which was a long time the property of Amer, the father of Baber; that prince resolved to retake the place, and marched accordingly with his army against it, the very next season. Zulnoon, who held it on the part of the king of Samarcand, made a resolute defence, till the approach of winter obliged Baber to raise the siege, and return to Indija. Besieges Artaba to no purpose.

Baber, in the year following, drew his army towards Samarcand, being in alliance with Ali, the brother of Baisinker, and king of Bochara; for the former endeavoured to recover from the latter the kingdom of Samarcand. The confederate kings not being able to reduce Samarcand that year, they returned home for the winter season, and made great preparations for another campaign. Both the kings, accordingly, in the year nine hundred and two, in the beginning of the spring, took the route of Samarcand. Sultan Ali reached Samarcand first, and Baisinker advanced without the city, and encamped before him; but, upon Baber's arrival, he retreated within his walls in the night. Eulu Chaja, who was going the rounds of Baber's camp, discovered the retreat of Baisinker, and falling upon his rear, put a great number to the sword. Baber laid siege to a fort, called Ashira, at a small distance from the city, and took it. The confederates, after this success, attacked Samarcand, which was defended with great bravery, till winter obliged them to raise the siege, and retire to quarters, till the ensuing season. Marches towards Samarcand.

Ali returned to Bochara, and Baber to a place called Chajadidar.

 Shubiani,

A. D. 1496. Hig. 902. Takes that city.

Shubiani, king of the Usbecs of Turkestan, upon his march from his own dominions, to join the king of Samarcand, came before Baber, but he thought proper to make the best of his way for Samarcand. Shubiani and Baisinker quarrelled soon after, and the former returned to his own country. This circumstance so much distressed Baisinker, that, with a small retinue, he went in person to beg the assistance of Chusero, king of Kunduz, also of the posterity of Timur, while Baber, seizing this opportunity, hastened to Samarcand, and, in the year nine hundred and three, entered the city without opposition, and mounted the throne, being acknowledged by the greatest part of the omrahs.

Deserted by his army.

But as Baber had taken the place by capitulation, and forbad all manner of plunder, the army, to whom he was greatly in arrears, and who served him only for the hopes of booty, began to disperse. The moguls, who were commanded by one Ibrahim, went off in a body, and were followed by several other chiefs, with their whole dependents, to Achsi, where Jehangire, the brother of Baber, commanded. Jehangire, by the aid of the deserters, and that of a prince, called Ozin Hassen, declared himself king of Indija. He wrote, by way of sneer to his brother, that as Baber had subdued the kingdom of Samarcand, he begged to be indulged with that of Indija. Baber having received this message, gave way to his passion, and, in blaming the perfidy of those chiefs who had deserted him, imprudently threw some reflections upon those who remained. The omrahs resented this behaviour, by abandoning him, and joining his brother. Baber, in the utmost distress, sent Eulu Chaja to endeavor to reconcile the omrahs to him again, but they sent a party to way-lay the embassador, and cut him to pieces.

The

The omrahs Ali and Molana, in the mean time, threw a garrifon into the fort of Indija, and continued to hold it out for Baber. The faithful omrahs fent advice to Baber of their fituation; but, unfortunately at this time, he was taken fo extremely ill, that, not able to fwallow any thing, he barely exifted by having moiftened cotton applied to his lips. When he had recovered his health, and found the preffing fituation of his affairs in Indija, he determined to run the rifque of lofing Samarcand, rather than his paternal dominions, and accordingly directed his march homewards. But Ali Dooft, and his friends in Indija, having heard that Baber was certainly dead, had capitulated, and given up the place to Jehangire. This traitor affaffinated Molana, and, mounting the throne, read the chutba in his own name.

A. D. 1496. Hig. 902.

His misfortunes.

This difagreeable intelligence, and other advices, that the Samarcandians had revolted, were, at once, brought to Baber, upon his march, which threw him into the utmoft diftrefs, having now loft both kingdoms. He fent, as his laft refource, Amir Cafim to Tafhcund, to entreat the affiftance of his uncle Mahmood. That monarch haftened to Jilka, where he and Baber met; but an emiffary, at the fame time, came to Mahmood, from Jehangire, who managed matters fo well, that Mahmood left his two nephews to fettle their own differences, and returned to Tafhcund. This unexpected blow had fuch an effect upon the affairs of Baber, that they now appeared fo defperate, that of all his army, in a few days, only forty horfemen remained with him, to conquer two kingdoms. In this forlorn fituation he retreated to Chojind. He wrote from thence to Mahommed Huffein, at Artaba, acquainting him, that the place in which he was then could not protect him from the fury of his enemies; he therefore earneftly folicited him to permit him to pafs the winter at Bifhaer. Huffein confented to

Samarcand revolts.

A. D. 1498. Hig. 902.

this requeſt; and Baber accordingly took up his quarters there. He began to recruit a new army, writing to all the friends he could think of, to join him.

He takes the field with a few.

After a few were gathered round his ſtandard, he conſidered that his future fortune depended entirely upon the reputation of his arms, and reſolved to employ them againſt his enemies. He, therefore, haſtened to Barnilack, where he took ſome forts by aſſault, and ſome by ſtratagem. But theſe petty exploits were of little ſervice to him, for his affairs bore ſtill a very ruinous aſpect, which threw him into great perplexity. He received, in the mean time, agreeable tidings from Alli Dooſt, begging his forgiveneſs, and informing him, that he was in poſſeſſion of the garriſon of Marinan, and if Baber ſhould come to take poſſeſſion of it, he would number himſelf among his ſlaves. Baber did not heſitate to accept this offer, and arriving at the place, he met Alli Dooſt at the gate, who put him into poſſeſſion of the fort, and ſupplied his finances. Baber immediately ſent Amer Caſſim towards the mountains of Indija, and Ibrahim Sara and Viſs Laghiri towards Achſi, to endeavour to bring over friends to his party. This meaſure had the deſired effect, for the mountaineers of Indija were gained to the intereſt of Baber, while Ibrahim Sara and Viſs Eaghiri ſettled matters with the governor of the fort of Baab, and two or three more, who declared for Baber. The negotiations of that prince ſucceeded, at the ſame time, at the court of his uncle, Mahmood, of Bochara, who marched to join him.

His affairs begin to wear a favorable aſpect.

Jehangire beſieges him in Marinan.

Jehangire, having received intelligence of the proceedings at Marinan, and of the efforts of Baber to raiſe an army, marched with his forces towards that place, and ſat down before it. He de-

detached, at the ſame time, part of his army towards Achſi, who, falling in with Mahmood, were defeated, with great ſlaughter. When Jehangire received theſe advices, he was ſtruck with embaraſſment, and retreated to Indija. But Naſirbeg, the ſon-in-law of Ozin Haſſen, who had now the government of that city, ſeeing the favourable aſpect of Baber's affairs, by the junction of Mahmood, and ſeveral parties of Uſbecks, determined not to admit Jehangire, and immediately ſent a meſſenger to haſten Baber to take poſſeſſion of the place. This check ruined the affairs of Jehangire, for immediately his army began to diſperſe, while he himſelf took the way to Oſt, and Ozin Haſſen that of Achſi. A. D. 1499. Hig. 905.

Baber, by this time, advanced to Indija, and took poſſeſſion of that city, conferring honors upon his friends; and thus the capital of Firghana was, in the year nine hundred and four, reſtored to its former adminiſtration. Upon the fourth day after the arrival of Baber, he ſet out for Achſi, where Ozin Haſſen capitulated, and was permitted to retire to Hiſſaar, Caſim Ogib being appointed governor of the place. The king returned to Indija, with the greateſt part of Ozin Haſſen's troops, who inliſted themſelves under his victorious banners. But the forces of Haſſen having, upon a former occaſion, plundered ſeveral perſons, then in the king's army, of their effects, a complaint was made to Baber, and orders were iſſued to reſtore the plunder to the proper owners. The moguls, unwilling to comply with this order, mounted their horſes, and, to a man, ſet out for Orgund, where they joined Jehangire and Ahmed Tirool, by which they were again in a condition to march againſt Indija. The king ſent a general to oppoſe them, who was defeated with great ſlaughter, Baber recovers his dominions.

many

A. D. 1499. Hig. 905.

many of the king's principal omrahs being ſlain, and ſeveral taken priſoners.

Indija beſieged.

The enemy advanced with all expedition, and laid ſiege to Indija for the ſpace of thirty days, but as they could effect nothing againſt it, they marched towards Ouſe. The king having recruited his army, marched, in the year nine hundred and five, towards Ouſe, while the enemy, by another road, made a puſh towards Indija. Baber, however, truſting to his friends in that city, and the ſtrength of the place, marched to Badwerd, a ſtrong fort in the poſſeſſion of Chilili, brother to Ahmed Timbol. Chilili defended the place with great reſolution, but at length was forced to a capitulation, by the terms of which, he was exchanged for the king's friends, who had fallen into the enemy's hands.

The enemy are overthrown by Baber.

Ahmed Timbol, in the mean time, made an attempt to ſcale the walls of Indija in the night, but was repulſed with great loſs. Baber, by this time, returning to that place, took a ſtrong poſt by the banks of the river. He encamped before the enemy for the ſpace of forty days, and then determined to attack their camp, though with great diſadvantage. After an obſtinate and bloody reſiſtance, the rebels were driven out of their trenches, and diſperſed. The king, after the victory, entered the city in triumph. Baber was informed in Indija, that ſix thouſand horſe from Mahmood, king of Bochara, whoſe policy it was to weaken both parties, had come to the aſſiſtance of Jehangire, and had ſat down before Caſhan. The king, though it was now the middle of winter, in ſevere froſt and ſnow, marched that way, upon which the allies retreated to their own country. Timbol, who was upon his march to join the rebels, fell in accidentally with the King, in a ſituation where he could not eſcape, had not the night favored

favored his retreat; by which means he went off with little loſs. The King purſued him under the walls of Biſhare, and encamped in ſight.

A. D. 1499. Hig. 905.

Upon the fourth day, Ali Dooſt and Cumber Ali, prevailed upon the King to make propoſals of accommodation. The terms were immediately agreed upon; that Jehangire ſhould keep poſſeſſion of all the country between the river Chajand and Achſi; and that the kingdom of Indija, and the diſtricts of Orgund, ſhould remain to Baber; that if the latter ſhould ever recover the kingdom of Samarcand, he ſhould give up Indija to Jehangire. After theſe terms of pacification were ſolemnly ratified by mutual oaths, the brothers had an interview, and the priſoners upon both ſides were ſet at liberty. The King returned to Indija, where Ali Dooſt, who was a man of great wealth and power, had began to exert unbounded authority. He baniſhed ſome, and impriſoned others, without the King's permiſſion; while his ſon, Mahommed took a princely ſtate upon himſelf. The King, upon account of his great influence, and the numerous enemies which environed his dominions, was conſtrained to diſſemble his reſentment.

A peace between Baber and his brother Jehangire.

In the mean time, Mazidlir, an omrah of Ali, who by the removal of his brother Baiſinker, reigned in Samarcand, apprehenſive of danger from his maſter, joined Bijan Mirza, the ſon of Mahmood, and carried him againſt Samarcand. Bijan Mirza was defeated, returned, and ſent an embaſſador to Baber, inviting him to the conqueſt of that kingdom. Baber embraced the propoſal, and drew his army towards Samarcand. Mazidlir having joined Baber upon his march, it was reſolved in council to ſend a perſon to ſound Chaja Eiah, who had almoſt the whole power of Samarcand in his hands. He returned them for anſwer, that they might march

Baber's expedition to Samarcand.

A. D. 1499. Hig. 905.

march towards the city, and whatever was found then most adviseable, should be done. In the mean time, Dildai, one of Timur's posterity, who commanded a tribe in Baber's camp, left his post without any apparent reason, fled to Samarcand, and acquainted the enemy of the correspondence with Chaja Eiah, which disconcerted their measures. His veteran troops crowded to the King's standard, making complaints against Ali Doost. Baber, therefore, determined to dismiss him from his presence, so that he and his son went over to Ahmed Timbul, but in a few days he died.

At this time Shubiani, King of the Usbecs, had taken Bochara, and was upon full march to conquer Samarcand, which Ali was advised to relinquish to him. Baber, upon hearing this news, went to Kish, and from thence to Hissar, where Masidlir, and the omrahs of Samarcand, despairing of taking that city, left him, and went to Chusero, King of Kunduz. Baber, after this desertion, was obliged to take the way to Sirtack, over rocks, stones, and rugged paths, by which his army suffered exceedingly, having lost most part of his camels and horses. This circumstance dispirited his troops to such a degree, that they all deserted him by the time he reached Barnilack, except two hundred and forty men.

Baber deserted by his whole army, except two hundred and forty men.

Any man but Baber would have now despaired of success in his designs; but though he had left a kingdom to which he might have still returned, his ambition prompted him to run the risque of a young adventurer for another. He accordingly marched directly for Samarcand, with this small retinue, with an intention to get into that city, without being discovered. His hopes were, that he could raise a faction among his friends, while yet the city was in disorder. He entered Samarçand in the dusk of the evening,

His daring attempt upon Samarcand.

ing, and went to Eurit Chan's houſe, but in a few minutes his arrival was whiſpered about, and the whole city began to be in an uproar. Baber, as his ſcheme was not ripe for execution, thought it high time to make his eſcape, which he did accordingly, without any loſs.

A. D. 1499. Hig. 905.

Obliged to retreat.

After he had got clear of the city, he looked back and repented of his precipitate flight. He immediately ſtopped in a grove, where, being wearied with the fatigue of the day, he laid himſelf down upon the ground to ſleep, as did the greateſt part of his retinue. In about an hour he awaked from a dream, in which he imagined he ſaw Abdalla, a dirveſh of great repute, coming towards his houſe. He thought that he invited the dirveſh to ſit down, upon which his ſteward ſpread a table cloth before him, at which the dirveſh ſeemed greatly offended †, and roſe to go away. The King begged he would excuſe him, as the offence was committed by a ſervant. The dirveſh, upon this, took him by the arm, and held him up towards the ſky, upon which he awoke, and calling up his attendants, related his dream, and determined to make an attempt immediately upon Samarcand.

His dream.

Baber's ſmall party having mounted their horſes, returned and reached the bridge about midnight. He detached eighty of his men before to a low part of the wall, near the Lover's Cave, which they ſcaled by the help of a hook-rope, and coming round to the gate and falling upon the guard commanded by Caſiter Chan, killed and diſperſed them. They immediately ſet open the gate, and admitted the King and his ſmall party. The city was alarmed; but the party proclaiming the name of Baber as they paſſed through

Returns to Samarcand, which he ſurprizes.

† The Orientals never eat abroad without a formal invitation; beſides, theſe independent dirveſhes live upon rice and water, and will not condeſcend to be entertained by princes.

A. D. 1500. Hig. 905.

the ſtreets, all who were his friends flocked to him, while his enemies, not knowing his ſtrength, ran diſtracted from place to place to join their leaders. In a ſhort time the alarm reached the houſe of Chaja Eiah, where ſeven thouſand Uſbecks were quartered. They ruſhed out and joined Shubiani their King, who, with eight thouſand more of his nation, lay in the citadel of Didar. Shubiani, with one hundred and fifty men, commanding the reſt to wait for orders, ſet out for the iron gate, but ſeeing he could do nothing with that handful, he retreated. Baber, in the mean time, attended by ſome thouſands, who rent the ſky with acclamations, followed him ſo cloſe, that Shubiani could not, either by words or example, make one of the Uſbecks ſtand his ground. He therefore followed them out at the oppoſite gate, and fled towards Bochara, and Samarcand immediately ſubmitted to Baber.

This action, if we conſider the ſtrength of the place, the troops it contained, the alarm that had been ſpread in the evening, the ſmall number who attempted it, the uncertainty of being joined by the citizens, and many other difficulties, we muſt eſteem it equal to the boldeſt enterprize in hiſtory. The authors who relate it, very juſtly give it the preference to any of the exploits of Timur. Muſidler took this opportunity of wreſting the forts of Kirſhi and Heraz from the Uſbecks; while Haſſen Mirza, from Muracuſs, came and took Kole. Baber ſent ambaſſadors to Haſſen Mirza, and other neighbouring princes, his relations, to requeſt their alliance, to drive Shubiani quite out of Maver ul Nere. They either paid no regard to Baber's embaſſy, or ſent ſuch pitiful ſupplies, as ſerved no purpoſe. Shubiani, by this means, recovered ſtrength during the winter, taking Karacole, and other diſtricts.

Baber defeated by Shubiani.

Baber, in the month of Shawal, nine hundred and ſix, collected his whole force, and marched out of Samarcand, to engage Shubiani.

Shubiani. He came up with him in the environs of Caridzin, and fought him. Baber exhibited, upon this occasion, all the good qualities of the general and brave soldier, but he was deserted by his allies, and soon after by his own troops. Only fifteen brave friends remained at last by his side, with whom, seeing it in vain to contend any longer with fortune, he made good his retreat to Samarcand. He lost in this action his principal omrahs, and other chiefs of note. Shubiani advanced, and laid siege to the city; the King taking up his quarters at the college of Ali Beg, as being the most centrical place for sending orders, or assistance. The siege was continued with great obstinacy for many days, numbers being killed on both sides; during which time, Kutch Beg, Loma, and Kelnizer, gave extraordinary examples of bravery. Four months had now passed in attacking and repulsing, when a dreadful famine began to rage in the city. The inhabitants eat their horses, and even the most unclean animals, while those who could not procure other provisions, subsisted upon the bark of trees. A. D. 1501. Hig. 907.

Though the King, at the commencement of the siege, had sent ambassadors to the Kings of Chorassan, Kundez, Buckolan, and Mogulistan, all princes of the house of Timur, for succours, he received no hopes of their aid. He was, therefore, under the cruel necessity of abandoning his capital and kingdom, with about one hundred friends, in a dark night, in the beginning of the year nine hundred and seven. He escaped to Tashcund, whither his brother, Jehangire, came to pay him his respects. His uncle, Mahmood, comforted him in his distress, entertained him in a princely manner, and gave him the city of Artaba to reside in during the winter. Forced to quit the city with one hundred men.

But in the beginning of the spring, he was again attacked by Shubiani, who, not being able to effect any thing against the city, Besieged at Artaba.

 plundered

A. D. 1502. Hig. 908.

plundered the country, and retreated to Samarcand. In this manner, Baber, unable to raiſe his head from his misfortunes, lived for ſome time, Ahmed Timbol having taken poſſeſſion of the kingdom of Indija, which the King had reſigned to his brother Jehangire, upon his taking Samarcand. Mahmood, and his brother Ahmed, were at length prevailed upon to ſupport their nephew Baber in an attempt to recover the kingdom of Indija from Ahmed Timbol. When the confederates had reached the boundaries of Ferghana, Timbol marched out to oppoſe them. It was agreed, that Baber, with a ſmall detachment of Moguls, ſhould march towards Oſh, to raiſe a party there, whilſt his uncles oppoſed Timbol. Baber accordingly took Oſh, and was joined by ſome of the inhabitants of Orgun and Marinan, who expelled the garriſons of Timbol. The King immediately marched towards Indija; and Timbol decamped from before the confederate princes, and haſtened back to cover Indija.

Defeated by Timbol.

Timbol happened, by accident, to fall in with Baber's camp, when the troops were out foraging, and defeated him. The King eſcaped, wounded, to Oſh, while Timbol threw himſelf into Indija, and prepared for a defence. The next day, the allied army of Mahmood and Ahmed appeared in ſight, and ſat down before the place, where they were joined ſoon after by Baber. Some time after, the inhabitants of Achſi called the King, and put him in poſſeſſion of that place; but the allied princes, not being able to reduce Indija, raiſed the ſiege.

Totally defeated by Shubiani.

In the mean time, Shubiani, King of the Uſbecs, fearing the ſucceſs of Baber, advanced from Samarcand with a very great army, towards Achſi. Baber immediately joined his allies, and they prepared to receive him. But in this action, which was very obſtinate and bloody, the fortune of Shubiani prevailed, and both the

the uncles of Baber were taken prisoners. The King escaped to Mogulistan, and the kingdom of Tashcund fell into the hands of Shubiani, which greatly augmented his power. Shubiani, some time after, dismissed the two brothers, but Mahmood retired, and fell into a deep melancholy. When one of his friends told him, that Shubiani had poisoned him, and begged to supply him with some famous theriac of Chitta, as a powerful preventive of the effects of poisons; the prince replied, "Yes! Shubiani has poisoned "me, indeed! he has taken my kingdom, which is not in the "power of your theriac to restore." A. D. 1502. Hig. 908.

He asks advice of Backer.

Baber left Mogulistan, and came to Shudma, and from thence proceeded to Turmuz, in the neighbourhood of Balich, where Backer, prince of that place, who was uneasy at the great power of the Usbecks, glad of Baber's alliance, who still had the command of an army, received him with great kindness and respect, and gave him large presents. Baber said to him, upon this occasion, That being a long time the football of fortune, and like a piece of wood on a chess-board, moved from place to place, vagrant as the moon in the sky, and restless as a stone upon the beach, he would therefore be glad of his friendly advice, as he had been so unsuccessful in his own resolves. Backer replied, That, however incapable he was to advise him, he would not withold his opinion, which was, that, as Shubiani was now in full possession of Baber's kingdom, and many others, which rendered him extremely powerful, it would be more adviseable for him to pursue his fortune elsewhere, particularly in Cabulistan, which was now in a state of anarchy.

The King followed this advice, and, in the year nine hundred and ten, marched towards Cabul †. Passing, in his way, through

† The city of Cabul is the capital of the province of Cabulistan in the mountains,

A. D. 1504. Hig. 910.

Baber's ingratitude to Chusero.

the dominions of Chusero, King of Kunduz, he was entertained by him with great hospitality, for which, we are sorry to relate, our hero made a very bad return. During the time that Baber resided there, he stirred up a faction in Chusero's court, and gained over seven thousand of his troops to his own interest. This plot being discovered, Chusero, with a few servants, was obliged to abandon his capital and fly, leaving his troops, his treasure, and every thing in the possession of Baber. Baber did not fail to avail himself of these advantages. He marched immediately towards Cabul, which had been in possession of Rysac, the son of Ali, Baber's uncle, who was then in his minority. One Zicca, exerting too much authority in the country at that time, disgusted the other omrahs, who assassinated him in the month of Zihidge. This circumstance occasioned great convulsions in the kingdom; for Mokîm, the son of Amir Zulnôn, prince of Garrimsere, took advantage of the intestine divisions of the Cabulians, and invaded them, forcing Rysac to take shelter among the Afghâns: he himself took possession of that country, and married the sister of the former prince.

Baber seizes upon Cabulistan.

Affairs being in this situation, Baber arrived upon the borders of Cabul, and driving Mokîm out of the field, forced him to take refuge in the capital, which Baber besieged and took. He then applied himself to regulate and improve that country, as dominions belonging to himself. In the year nine hundred and eleven, Cabulistan was thrown into great consternation by dreadful earthquakes, which laid most of the cities in ruins. Baber endeavoured to alleviate this public calamity in such a manner, by his unwearied

tains, between Persia and India. It is situated in 34 degrees of latitude, and is one of the finest towns in that part of Asia. Cabul is the depository and staple of the commodities, which pass from India into Persia and Great Bucharia, and is consequently rich and populous. It is at present subject to Ahmed Abdalla.

care

care and extenſive benevolence, that he gained the love and fidelity of all his new ſubjects. The reſtleſs genius of Baber could not lie quiet. His aſpiring diſpoſition began to extend his views to conqueſt. He accordingly led an army againſt the Argôns of Kandahar, and deprived them of the ſtrong fort of Killât, eſtabliſhing an alliance with Buddiulzemân, a prince of the race of Timur, in poſſeſſion of Herât. He marched in the ſame year to Kuſluckât, which he brought into ſubjection, and gave the government of Ghizni, which, from a great empire, was diminiſhed into an inconſiderable province, to his brother Jehangire. A. D. 1506. Hig. 912.

In the year nine hundred and twelve, Baber marched towards Chorraſſân to join Huſſein Mirza, who, aſhamed of his former behavior, and irritated, by freſh injuries from Shubiani, now propoſed to Baber, that they ſhould join in alliance againſt him. But when Baber had reached Nîmroſa, he heard of Huſſein's death. He proceeded, however, to Chorraſân, and endeavoured to ſtir up the princes and omrahs againſt the Uſbecks. He was not able to effect his purpoſe, and he therefore returned, by the way of Herât, towards Cabul. The ſnows were, at that time, very deep, and prevented his paſſage over the hills, which obliged him to canton his troops in Hazara. Marches to Chorraſſân.

When Baber was thus conſtrained to remain at Hazara, Huſſein Gurgan, Birlaſs, and other mogul omrahs, joining with Mirza his couſin, raiſed him to the throne of Cabul, by promoting falſe intelligence of the King's death. But when the news of his return reached the people, they rebelled againſt the new government, and as ſoon as the ſeaſon permitted his approach, flocked to his ſtandard, put all the garriſons into his hands except the capital, where Mirza and his adherents ſuſtained a ſhort ſiege, and then capitulated. The principal perſons concerned in the revolt, Diſturbances in Cabul. Quelled.

A. D. 1507. Hig. 913.

revolt, were expelled the country. About this time Nasir, the Sultan's youngest brother, who held the government of Baduchshan, being defeated, by one of the generals of Shubiani, took refuge at Cabul, and, as Jehangire had killed himself by hard drinking, his government of Ghizni was now conferred upon Nasir.

Baber invited to Kandahar.

In the year nine hundred and thirteen, Baber marched against the Afghans of Ghalingi, who infested his country, and took from them one hundred thousand sheep, and some thousands of other cattle, and returned. The omrahs of the house of Argôn, being greatly oppressed by the Usbecks, wrote to Baber, at this time, that if he would march that way, they would put him in possession of Kandahar*. The Sultan did not hesitate to comply with their request. He immediately set out, and, as he was passing Kilat, Mirza begged the favor of being admitted into his presence, and, receiving his pardon, accompanied him. When he had reached the borders of Kandahar, he wrote to Shaw Beg and Mokim, that he was so far upon his way, according to their desire, and that, therefore, he expected to see them in his camp. Since the time of their writing to Baber, some alterations in their politicks, had made them repent of the application they had made, so that instead of receiving the king in a friendly manner, they prepared for war, and desired he would return home. But Baber determined not to suffer such an indignity with impunity. He marched forward, and engaged them at the village of Gillishack, near the city of Kandahar, defeated them with great slaughter, and cutting off their retreat from the city, Shaw Beg fled to Saul, and Mokim towards Dawir. Baber immediately laid

* Kandahar is the capital of a small province near Cabulistan. It was alternately possessed by the Moguls and Persians, till it was finally ceded to Nadir Shaw, in 1739.

siege

ſiege to the city, and took it, with all the wealth of the family of Zulnon, which he divided, by weight, amongſt his officers and troops, according to their reſpective ſtations. He left Naſir, his brother, in the government of Kandahar and Dawir, and then returned in triumph to Cabul. A. D. 1508. Hig. 914.

The Uſbecks invade Kandahar.

Mokim having, this very year, complained to Shubiani, the Uſbec, prevailed upon him to engage in his behalf, and to march towards Kandahar. Naſir, upon receiving this intelligence, ſhut himſelf up in the town, and ſent expreſſes to his brother for aſſiſtance. Baber wrote him to defend the place as long as he could, but if he ſhould be driven to great diſtreſs, to capitulate, and come to him at Cabul; for that, at the time, he was in no condition to diſpute the field with Shubiani, whoſe forces and finances were greatly ſuperior; beſides, that a defeat might ruin him for ever, and overſet all the projects he had formed of raiſing himſelf a kingdom in Hindoſtan. Naſir, according to theſe inſtructions, after he could hold out no longer with propriety, capitulated, and came to the king at Cabul. Shubiani, after taking the place, gave it back to the ſons of Zulnon, and marched with his army towards Choraſſan. But no ſooner had Shubiani evacuated Kandahar, than the Arguniahs, a wild tribe, made an incurſion, and poſſeſſed themſelves of the place. This was an agreeable piece of news to Baber, as they formed a barrier between him and the Uſbecks.

Humaioon born.

This year, upon the fourth of Zicat, Baber had a ſon born to him in Cabul, whom he named Humaioon, who afterwards became emperor of Hindoſtan. The Sultan, in the following year, took the field againſt the Memind Afghans, and, during his abſence, the moguls of Chuſero, who had been left to defend Cabul, revolted, and ſet up again Ryſac, the ſon of Ali, upon the

A. D. 1509. Hig. 915.

the throne. The king was immediately deserted by the greatest part of his army; for hearing of the rebellion in Cabul, they hastened home to protect their families, insomuch, that out of upwards of ten thousand horse, which he carried to the field, Baber had now scarce five hundred remaining in his camp.

Baber's daring enterprize.

Notwithstanding these misfortunes, Baber boldly resolved to advance towards Cabul, with the few trusty friends he had left. Rysac, upon the Sultan's approach, came out of the city with an army ten or twelve thousand strong. The king, with his small troop, advanced towards them, and when he came near, ordered his party to halt. He himself rode close up to the rebel-army, and challenged Rysac to single combat; but, as he seemed to decline it, five omrahs, one after another, engaged him, and fell by his hand. The names of the omrahs were, Alli Shubcore, Alli Seistani, Niser the Usbeck, Jacoob, and Usbeck Bahadar. This heroic behavior struck the rebels with so much admiration and astonishment, that they refused to fight, by which means the usurper was taken. But so great was the king's clemency, that he pardoned him; but soon after, beginning to raise more disturbance, he suffered the just reward of a traitor.

Kills five omrahs in single combat.

War between Persia and the Usbecks.

The country of Chusero, king of Kunduz, having fallen into the hands of the Usbecks, who took no proper means of keeping it in subjection, a number of independent chiefs sprung up in Buduchshan, of whom the principal was Zeiper. Chan Mirza, upon this, by the advice of his mother, Sha Begum, who traced her genealogy to the great Secunder *, began to entertain hopes, and to take measures to raise himself to that kingdom. Having previously obtained leave of Baber, he this year left Cabul; and, having raised a small army, advanced towards the borders of Buduchshan.

* Alexander the Great.

But his mother, who came up in the rear, was attacked by a body of Kaſhgars, and carried off priſoner, while Chan Mirza was defeated, and obliged to give himſelf up to Zeiper, who kept him under guard. Euſoph Ali, who had been an old ſervant of Mirza, formed a conſpiracy againſt Zeiper, and aſſaſſinated him, and Chan Mirza was raiſed to the throne by the people. In the year nine hundred and ſixteen, Iſmaiel Suffavi †, king of Perſia, wrote to Shubiani to withdraw his troops from ſome of the ſkirts of his dominions, upon which he had begun to encroach, to root up the tree of contention, which produced bitter fruits, and to plant that of friendſhip, whoſe bloſſoms ſhed the moſt grateful perfume. Shubiani replied, That it was only for thoſe who were deſcended from kings to entertain thoughts of empire; that it was true, that Iſmaiel, though the ſon of a Fakier, had raiſed himſelf to a kingdom, when there was no lord of ſeven nations around him, to oppoſe him; that therefore, it would be now adviſeable for him to retire to his former obſcurity, and that, for that purpoſe, he had ſent him a ſtaff and a beggar's diſh for his inheritance; for that Shubiani only was worthy of poſſeſſing the bride of royalty, who durſt kiſs her through oppoſing ſwords. Iſmaiel anſwered, That if empire was an inheritance, by what means was it ſo often violated, till it fell to his lot? for his own part, he had always conſidered the right of kings as founded upon power, and that the longeſt ſword was the beſt title. That, with the latter, he was, at all times, ready to diſpute with Shubiani; and that, though he himſelf had no opinion of contemptuous oſtentation, yet in return for Shubiani's preſent, he had ſent him a gridiron and ſpinning-wheel for his amuſement. As for the reſt, that Iſmaiel would be his own meſſenger. A. D. 1509. Hig. 915.

† The firſt of the Perſian dynaſty called corruptedly in Europe, the Sophis of Perſia.

A. D. 1511. Hig. 917.

Shubiani overthrown and ſlain.

Having diſpatched this meſſage, Iſmaiel immediately collected his army, and marching eaſtward, ſubdued Chorraſſan, and advanced to Murve, before Shubiani could make the leaſt oppoſition. Shubiani not being then prepared to engage Iſmaiel, in the field, he ſhut himſelf up in Murve. But being ſeverely reproached by Iſmaiel, he marched out and gave him battle, in which he was defeated. In his flight he had the misfortune to get into a park, with about five hundred princes and principal officers, from whence he could find no outlet. He was attacked there by the king of Perſia, and ſeeing no hope of eſcape left, he and his followers fought, refuſing quarter, till every man of them was laid dead on the field.

Baber marches to recover his dominions.

Chan Mirza immediately diſpatched accounts of this important event from Buduchſhan to Baber; and went himſelf to Kunduz; informing the king, that now was the time for recovering his former dominions. Baber accordingly, in the year nine hundred and ſeventeen, marched, with all expedition, towards Hiſſar, croſſing the Amu * with Chan Mirza. But a great army of Uſbecks being encamped near that city, the moguls were obliged to retreat to Kunduz. Iſmaiel, at this time, ſent the Sultana Zada, Baber's ſiſter, who had been taken in Samarcand, by Shubiani, and afterwards married by him, with all her effects, to Kunduz; where ſhe gave ſo favorable an account of the generous behavior of the Perſian, that Baber was induced to hope for his aſſiſtance in reinſtating him in his hereditary kingdom. He, for this purpoſe, ſent him an ambaſſador, with proper preſents. In the mean time, in order to keep up the ſpirit of enterprize, he marched towards Hiſſar, where he ſtill found the Uſbecks greatly ſuperior in force to him. He therefore declined to attack them, till he ſhould recruit more forces. This being

* The Oxus.

done,

done, he advanced to their encampment, and offered them battle, which they accepted, and Baber obtained a complete victory, to which the bravery of Chan Mirza greatly contributed. A. D. 1511. Hig. 917.

He was, in a few days after, joined by Ahmed, of the Suffvi family, Alli Oſtagelo, and Sharock, with a fine body of cavalry on the part of the king of Perſia, by which his army amounted to ſixty thouſand horſe. With this force he marched towards Bochara, and, after ſeveral ſucceſsful actions with Abdulla, and Jani Beg, poſſeſſed himſelf of that kingdom. Upon the fifteenth of Regib of the ſame year, he marched from Bochara to Samarcand, which city ſurrendered to him the third time, and acknowledged him ſovereign. Baber fixed his reſidence at Samarcand, and appointed Naſir, his brother, to the government of Cabul, giving leave to the troops of Perſia to return home. But he had not poſſeſſed this throne above nine months, before the Uſbecks, who had fled to Turkeſtan, advanced, under Timur, who had ſucceeded to Shubiani. Upon receiving theſe advices, Baber marched to defend Bochara, where he engaged the Uſbecks, but being defeated, was obliged to ſhut himſelf up within the walls. He was, in the end, forced to abandon the city, and to retreat to Samarcand. Here he was again beſieged, and obliged to fly to Shadman.

Takes Bochara, and Samarcand.

About this time, Nigim Sani, of Iſpahan, general of the Perſian armies, advanced with an intention to poſſeſs himſelf of Balich. Baber, ever watchful to graſp at every thing favorable to the ruling paſſion of his ſoul, formed an alliance with him for the recovery of his dominions. Sani having taken the fort of Kiriſh from the Uſbecks, put the garriſon, conſiſting of fifteen thouſand, to the ſword. He then laid ſiege to Gudgdewan, in conjunction with the Sultan, whither the princes of the Uſbecks advanced againſt

Makes an alliance with the Perſian general.

A. D. 1518. Hig. 924.

againſt them, from Bochara, with a great army; and fortune being ſtill the adverſary of Baber, Nigim Sani, with a great part of his army, was ſlain, and the mogul prince himſelf obliged to fly to Shadman, with a few attendants.

A conſpiracy againſt his life.

Nor did the misfortunes of Baber riſe from the enemy alone. His attendants conſpired againſt his life, for having blamed ſome of them for bad behavior. They ruſhed, in the night, into his tent, but being alarmed by the noiſe, he made his eſcape naked, and reached the fort of Aric before morning, without one attendant; and the conſpirators plundered his camp, and diſperſed themſelves. In this ſituation of affairs, the king ſaw no further hope in thoſe northern regions, and therefore ſet out for Cabul with a ſmall retinue, and upon his arrival appointed Naſir to the government of Ghizni. In the year nine hundred and twenty-four, he marched towards Sawad and Bejoar, poſſeſſed by the Afghans of Zehi, who had been infeſting his country. Having defeated thoſe mountaineers, and carried ſome thouſands of them into captivity, he gave the government of that country to one of his omrahs.

Meditates the conqueſt of Hindoſtan.

When Secunder, the emperor of Hindoſtan, died, he was ſucceeded, as we have already related, by Ibrahim the ſecond, in whoſe reign the Patan chiefs of the imperial family of Lodi, became ſo factious, that they totally broke the power of that empire. Baber reckoned this a good opportunity to eſtabliſh himſelf in India, the conqueſt of which he had long meditated, though he was always embroiled in other affairs. Baber accordingly, in the year nine hundred and twenty-five, marched his army as far as the blue river, one of the branches of the Indus. He ſubdued all the countries in his way, and croſſing the river, advanced to Berah in Punjab, raiſing heavy contributions for with-holding his

his troops from plunder. He ſent from Berah, one Moulana, with an embaſſy to the emperor Ibrahim, acquainting him, that as that country had been for many years in the poſſeſſion of the houſe of Timur, it was proper he ſhould now relinquiſh his pretenſions to it, and ſo prevent the war from being carried further into India. At this place Baber received advice of the birth of another ſon, whom he named Hindal. He appointed Haſſen Beg, governor of the conquered countries as far as Chinaab, and marched in perſon againſt the Gickers, and beſieged the fort of Pirhala, whither Hati their chief had retired. The Gickers were, one day, tempted to take the field, and were defeated by Dooſt Beg, the mogul general, while the king in perſon cut off their retreat to the fort, and obliged them to fly to the mountains. The fort, in which there was a conſiderable treaſure, fell by this means into his hands, which ſatisfied Baber for this expedition, and he returned to Cabul. A. D. 1518. Hig. 924.

In the latter end of the ſame year, Baber returned again to Hindoſtan, with an intention to take Lahore, and in his way chaſtiſed ſome Patans of the tribe of Zehi, who diſturbed him in his march. He built a fort at Peſhawir, and then advanced to the Indus. He there received intelligence, that the king of Kaſhgar, or Little Bucharia, was marched into Buduchſhan, which obliged him to return, leaving the prince Mahommed, one of the deſcendants of Timur, with four thouſand horſe, to ſupport his authority in the country. He had not, however, reached Cabul, before he heard that the king of Kaſhgar had been obliged to retreat. Baber, therefore, turned his face towards the Afghans, of the tribe of Chizer Cheil, who began to make depredations upon the kingdom of Cabul in his abſence, and ſeverely chaſtiſed them for their inſolence, ſpoiled their country, and returned to his capital. His ſecond expedition into Hindoſtan.

Baber,

A. D. 1519. Hig. 926.

Third expedition into Hindostan.

Baber, in the year nine hundred and twenty-ſix, marched a third time towards India, chaſtiſing the Patans in his way, till he reached Salcot, the inhabitants of which country ſubmitted, and ſaved their poſſeſſions. But the people of Seidpoor, erecting the ſtandard of defence, were, in the end, put all to the ſword, their wealth given up to depredation, and their children and wives carried away captive. Baber was here alarmed, by intelligence from Cabul, that obliged him to return, for the Kandharians had invaded his country. He marched againſt them, drove them out of the field, and inveſted their capital.

Returns and beſieges Kandahar,

He, in the mean time, received advice of the death of Chan Mirza, in Buduchſhan, and appointed his ſon Humaioon to that government. Shaw Beg, the prince of Kandahar, held out with great bravery againſt Baber for the ſpace of three years, during which time the blockade laſted. But in the year nine hundred and twenty-eight, Baber, who was obſtinate in his reſolution, at length reduced Kandahar, and all the country of Garrumſere, appointing prince Camiran, his ſon, to the government.

which is taken.

Soon after the ſurrender of Kandahar, Dowlat Lodi, apprehenſive of the emperor Ibrahim, ſent a deputation to Baber, at Cabul, begging his protection. Baber, in the year nine hundred and thirty, augmented his army, and advanced within ſix crores of Lahore, where Par Lodi, Mubarick Lodi, and Bicken Lohani, who were powerful omrahs of Punjab, joined their forces, and oppoſed him; but they were defeated with great ſlaughter. Baber, in perſon, marched to Lahore, and took it, ſetting fire to the Bazar, according to a ſuperſtitious cuſtom of the Moguls.

Fourth expedition into Hindoſtan.

Lahore taken,

The king remained four days only in Lahore, and then advanced againſt Debalpoor. He ſummoned the place to ſurrender,

and Debalpoor.

but as the garrison forced him to risque an assault, in which he was successful, he put them all to the sword. Dowlat Lodi, with his three sons, joined Baber at Debalpoor, and the father was appointed to the government of Jallender, Sultanpoor, and other districts of Punjab, which rendered him very powerful. A. D. 1523. Hig. 930.

This Dowlat Lodi was a descendant of the race of that name who heretofore reigned at Delhi. He gave to Baber information, that Ismaiel Selwani, and other Afghans, were collected at Kharah; that it would, therefore, be adviseable to detach a force against them. The Sultan agreed to this proposal, and prepared to send a detachment that way. In the mean time, Delawir, the youngest son of Dowlat, acquainted Baber, with whom he was a great favorite, that his father and brother wanted to divide his troops, to put some plan which they themselves had concerted, in execution. The king, after being convinced of the truth of this information, ordered Dowlat, and his son Ghazi, into confinement. He then crossed the Suttuluz, advanced to Sirhind, and there released the two Lodi's, and gave them estates. But when they had reached Sultanpoor, they deserted the camp, and fled to the hills. The king, upon this, gave to Delawir the title of first of the nobles, and both their estates; but as the father and son's desertion greatly affected Baber's interest in Hindostan, he thought it no ways adviseable to proceed to Delhi this year. He, accordingly, returned to Lahore, and, having appointed governors to the different countries in his possession in India, set out for Cabul. Dowlat Lodi suspected,

During Baber's absence, Dowlat Lodi found means to seize his son Delawir, who had betrayed him, and put him in chains; then marching with a formidable army to Debalpoor, fought Alla, the brother of the emperor Ibrahim, and Baba Kiska, and defeating

A. D. 1524. Hig. 931.

Defeats Baber's forces.

them, ſubdued that country. Alla fled to Cabul, and Baba to Lahore. Dowlat ſent five thouſand Afghans againſt Salcot, but Mir Aziz, governor of Lahore, immediately marched, with what forces he had, to the aſſiſtance of Kokiltaſh, who held the government of Salcot, and meeting with this detachment of Afghans, defeated them, and returned to Lahore.

Ibrahim attacks him.

Much about this time, an army, on the part of Ibrahim, emperor of Delhi, marched againſt Dowlat Lodi and his ſon. Dowlat turned his army to give them battle, and, having met them at Bidwarrah, found means to ſtir up a faction in his own favor in the imperial camp, inſomuch that ſuch as were not diſaffected were obliged to fly the camp, and return to Ibrahim.

Alla arrives at Lahore.

Alla, who had loſt his government of Debalpoor, and had fled to Cabul, now arrived in Lahore, with orders from Baber to all his officers in thoſe parts, to join him with all their forces, and march towards Delhi, and that he would ſupport them in perſon as ſoon as his affairs at home would permit. Dowlat and Ghazi Lodi, hearing of this order, wrote to the mogul omrahs, that they were glad to find that Baber eſpouſed the cauſe of Alla, who was the very perſon they themſelves would chuſe to raiſe to the throne of Delhi; that if they would, therefore, ſend him to them, they would undertake to place him upon the Muſnud. The mogul chiefs, having firſt obtained a grant for Baber, of all the countries to the north-weſt of the Indus, permitted Alla to join the Lodi's himſelf, without complying further with their maſter's orders. When accordingly Alla arrived in their camp, Dowlat and his ſon ſupplied him with the greateſt part of their force, with which he marched towards Delhi, and inveſted it, as before related, with forty thouſand horſe. In the mean time, the emperor Ibrahim

Beſieges Delhi.

advanced againſt his brother from Agra, and was ſurprized, in the night, when he had reached near the city; but, by the irregular behavior of Alla's army, who, in the morning, diſperſed themſelves to plunder, they were fallen upon by Ibrahim, and defeated in their turn, which obliged Alla to retreat, in great diſtreſs, to Punjaab. When Baber heard of the defeat of Alla, he awoke from the dream of indolence and luxury, which he had indulged for ſome time in Cabul, and, in the beginning of the ſpring, of the year nine hundred and thirty two, marched the fifth time towards Hindoſtan. He was joined by his ſon Humaioon, with a good force, from Buduchſhan, and Chaja Callan, with the troops from Ghizni. He took the rout of Lahore, and in the way uſed to hunt rhinoceroſes, with which that country abounded, and ſo had an opportunity of putting the perſonal bravery of moſt of his chiefs to trial, as that was a dangerous and warlike exerciſe. Many of thoſe animals were killed, and ſome taken alive in toils.

A. D. 1525. Hig. 932.

Overthrown.

Upon the firſt of the firſt Ribbi, Baber croſſed the Indus, and upon the banks of that river, muſtered his army, which conſiſted of only ten thouſand choſen horſe. Croſſing then that branch of the Indus, which is called Behat, he advanced to Salcot, where Alla met him, and likewiſe Ali, governor of Cullanore, and Haſſen, the collector of the revenues in thoſe provinces. Dowlat Lodi and his ſon Ghazi who reckoned themſelves publickly in the ſervice of Alla, now lay upon the banks of the Ravi, near Lahore, with an army of forty thouſand men; but when Baber advanced towards them, they fled; Dowlat to the fort of Milwit, and Ghazi to the ſkirts of the hills. Baber inveſted Milwit, and Dowlat, after a few days, capitulated. It ſeems, that ſome days before, he put on two ſwords, and boaſted what he would do to Baber. Baber

Baber croſſes the Indus.

A. D. 1525. Hig. 932.

now ordered those two swords to be hung round his neck, and in that manner Dowlat was brought to his presence; but notwithstanding his behaviour, the King forgave all his crimes, and took him into favor. When the gates of the fort were opened, the troops pressed in an irregular manner, and began to plunder. Baber, upon this, mounted his horse, and entering, was under the necessity of using violence, to prevent their outrages. He killed, upon this occasion, a principal officer of his son Humaioon's retinue, with an arrow, for which he was extremely grieved, as it happened by mistake. The King, by this means, saved the honor of Dowlat's family, who were all in the place, and preserved a noble library which he had collected, Dowlat being a poet and a man of learning. Baber marched from thence the next day, and pursued Ghazi, when Delawir, the son of Dowlat, who had been dignified with a title, found means to escape to him, and was honorably received. A mogul chief, who was detached in front, having fallen in with Ghazi, defeated him, and pursued him so close, that he was obliged to fly to the Emperor Ibrahim, at Delhi. The elder Dowlat died upon this march.

Marches towards Delhi.

Baber having, in several actions, perceived the inferiority of the Indian troops to his own, determined to delay no longer his final attempt upon the empire. He accordingly marched towards Delhi, having some letters of encouragement, at the same time, from a few of the malcontents at the court of Ibrahim. When he had reached the banks of the Giger, he heard that the governor of Firosa, was waiting to oppose him in front, with the troops of those parts. Baber, therefore, sent his son Humaioon, with some of his most experienced officers, to drive the governor from his post, which they effected, and returned victorious to the army. As this was the first battle in which prince Humaioon commanded, his

his father was greatly rejoiced, and gave him the countries of Firosa and Jallender in Jagier. Two days after, Meian, a chief of the party of Ibrahim, appeared in sight, and desired to join Baber's colours, with three thousand Patan horse, and was accordingly entertained in his service.

A. D. 1525. Hig. 932.

Arrives at Shawabad.

Baber having arrived within two stages of Shawabad, received intelligence that Ibrahim, with a great army, had marched out of Delhi to oppose him, and that Daood and Hatim formed his vanguard with twenty seven thousand horse. The sultan immediately detached Timur, and other nobles, with all the troops of the left wing, and the squadrons of Juneid Birlass, and Hassen Birlass, against this advanced post. They accordingly fell in with them the next morning at sun-rise, and after an obstinate conflict, put Daood and Hatim to flight, but the latter fell in the pursuit. The victors took seven elephants, and a great number of prisoners, with whom they returned to Baber; but he, we are sorry to relate such barbarity, put them to death, by way of striking terror into his enemies.

Preparations for a general engagement.

Baber advancing to the field of battle, encamped there six days, ordering chains to be made to link the carriages of his guns together, to prevent the horse breaking through them. The imperial army under Ibrahim, by this time, consisted of one hundred thousand horse, and a thousand elephants; that of Baber, of thirteen thousand only. When Ibrahim had advanced near, Baber ordered five thousand horse to attack the Indian camp in the night; but finding the enemy upon their guard, this detachment returned without attempting any thing.

This retreat hastened Ibrahim to action, and accordingly he marched

A. D. 1525. Hig. 932.

marched next morning to Pannipat. Baber, at the ſame time, advanced within twelve miles of Ibrahim's encampment. Upon the day after, being the ſeventh of Rigib, the two armies came in ſight of each other. Baber divided his troops into two lines, and four grand diviſions, with a body of reſerve in the rear of each, and a few light horſe to ſkirmiſh in front. The firſt diviſion on the right was commanded by Prince Humaioon. The firſt on the left was under the orders of the King's couſin Mahommed. The ſecond, on the right towards the center, was commanded by Timur. The ſecond, to the left towards the center, by the noble Chalifa. Chuſero, and other omrahs, was appointed to command the light horſe, or herawils, in the front. Aziz and Tirrah, in the rear of the right, and Ceri and Willi Kizil, in the rear of the left. Beſides theſe, there was a reſerve in the rear of both lines, that on the right commanded by Caſim, and that on the left by Ali. The king himſelf took his poſt in the centre of the firſt line, after having perſonally given orders to his generals.

The battle.

The emperor Ibrahim, ignorant of the art of war, obſerved no regular order of battle, but drew up his forces in one great line or column of unequal depth, and ordered them to charge the Mogul army, vainly imagining that he could bear them down with numbers. But he found himſelf ſoon fatally deceived. So formidable were the Moguls to the Patans, from their known courage and ſteady order, that the emperor's unweildy column began to break and turn thin, before they came up to the charge, which was directed at the center of the Mogul army. Thoſe who advanced were repulſed with great bravery, but when they ſought to retreat, they found themſelves ſurrounded; for the two bodies of reſerve, in the rear of the Mogul line, had wheeled round their flanks,

flanks, and meeting in the center, fell upon the rear of thoſe who had advanced to the charge, by which means the Patans were almoſt all cut to pieces. The reſerve having performed this ſervice, retired to their poſt in the rear, and the Mogul lines advanced, ſuſtaining various irregular charges from the Indian army, whom they repulſed with great ſlaughter. A. D. 1525. Hig. 932.

Ibrahim, at laſt rouſed with ſhame and indignation, advanced in perſon, followed by the flower of his army, and gave ſuch a violent ſhock to the Mogul line, as threw it into diſorder. Nothing now but perſonal bravery was left to decide the day; but in this, and the compact form in which the Moguls whole force was wedged, they were ſtill ſuperior to the Indians. Five thouſand fell with Ibrahim in one ſmall ſpot of ground. The Patan army, when their king was ſlain, recoiled like ſurges from a rocky ſhore, and the torrent of flight rolled towards the banks of the Jumna, dying the courſe of that river with blood; for ſo far did Baber continue the purſuit; but being wearied with ſlaughter, he gave hope to fear, and reſpite to death. Ibrahim defeated and ſlain.

According to the moſt moderate accounts there were ſixteen thouſand Patans killed in this action, though moſt authors ſay fifty thouſand. Of the loſs of Baber we have no information; conquerors having it always in their power to conceal the number of their ſlain. We may date from this battle, the fall of the Patan empire, though that race afterwards made many efforts, and recovered it, for a few years, as we ſhall ſee in the life of Humaioon.

Baber did not fail to make the beſt uſe of his victory. He immediately after the battle detached the Prince Humaioon, and three of his principal omrahs, to Agra, before they could have time Baber enters Delhi, and aſſumes the empire.

A. D. 1525. Hig. 932.

time to recover from their consternation, or to remove their wealth. He also sent his cousin Mahommed, and three other chiefs, to Delhi, to take possession of that capital, while he himself came up in the rear, and, on the twelfth of Rigib, entered the city. The chutba was read in his name, by Zein the Metropolitan of Delhi; and, after having surveyed the city, and visited the tombs of the saints and heroes, he set out for Agra, where he arrived the twenty fifth of the same month, and immediately invested the fort, which was in possession of the former government, garrisoned by the troops of the Raja, of Gualier, who had been killed in the action. But so much had the terror of the Mogul arms now taken possession of every mind, that they immediately desired to capitulate, and sent him, by way of ransom, a perfect diamond weighing two hundred and twenty four ruttys *, which was formerly the property of the emperor Alla. Baber presented it to his son Humaioon. Thus, upon the fifth day after his arrival, he was put in possession of the place, in which he found the mother of Ibrahim, who was treated with becoming respect, and permitted to enjoy all her wealth.

Reflexions upon the conquest of Hindostan by Baber.

This conquest of Hindostan, as Baber himself writes in his Commentaries †, was certainly superior to that of any former conqueror. Mahmood of Ghizni was not only a powerful emperor, but the country was, at that time, divided into a number of kingdoms, which greatly facilitated his enterprizes. Mahommed Ghori brought an army of one hundred and twenty thousand men with him, when the kingdom was not so powerful. The like may be said of Timur, who ravaged Hindostan when it was torn to

* A rutty is seven eighths of a carat.

† The Commentaries of Baber are still extant, and reckoned one of the best performances of the kind in the East.

pieces

pieces by civil commotions. But the army of Baber was but a handful in proportion to that of Ibrahim, who possessed all the countries between the Indus and Behar, and could bring five hundred thousand men to the field; while Baber only possessed the poor countries of Cabul, Buduchshan, and Kandahar, the revenues of which were very inconsiderable. To what then can we attribute this extraordinary conquest, in a natural light, but to the great abilities and experience of Baber, the bravery of his few hardy troops, trained up to war, for their subsistance, and now fired with the hopes of glory and gain? But what contributed most to weigh down the scale of conquest, was the degeneracy of the Patans, effeminated by luxury and wealth, and dead to all principles of virtue and honor, which their corrupt factions and civil discords had totally effaced; it being now no shame to fly, no infamy to betray, no breach of honor to murther, and no scandal to change parties. When, therefore, the fear of shame and the love of fame were gone, it was no wonder that a herd, without unanimity, order, or discipline, should fall into the hands of a few brave men. This is the general tendency of wealth in all governments, if the reins are not held fast, the laws punctually executed, and the progress of corruption checked both by private and public oeconomy.

A. D. 1526. Hig. 933.

Upon the twentieth of Rigib, Baber went into the treasury, which was very rich. He reserved not a single dinar for himself, but divided it among his omrahs and troops; the share of the former coming to two lacks of rupees each; and those of others were proportionable to their rank and stations. A part was sent to Cabul, to be divided among Baber's subjects, which yielded to each a silver sharoch*, besides presents, which he sent to Samarcand,

Baber's generosity.

* A silver sharoch is in value about a shilling sterling.

A. D. 1526. Hig. 933.

Chorraſſan, Kaſhgar, Pairac, Mecca, Medina, Kirbilla, Negif, Muſhad, and other holy places, in charity. This generoſity, which bordered upon prodigality, fixed upon Baber the name of Collinder, whoſe cuſtom it is to keep nothing for to-morrow.

The provincial omrahs refuſe to ſubmit.

As the Patans were in great terror of the Moguls, and had a natural antipathy to their government, they ſtill refuſed to ſubmit, and appeared every where in arms, ſtrengthening their forts, and erecting the ſtandard of defiance in their different provinces; Cazim, in Simbol; Formalli, in Mewat; Zeitôn, in Dolepoor; Tatar, in Gualiêr; Huſſein Lohani, in Rhaberi; Cuttub in Atava; Allum, in Calpee; Nizam, in Biana; beſides Naſir Lohani, and Furmalli, on the other ſide of the Ganges. All theſe chiefs refuſed to acknowledge Baber's authority. But as it was neceſſary to form an alliance for their mutual defence, they unanimouſly appointed Par Chan, the ſon of Diria Lodi, their general, or, rather, king, by the title of Sultan Mahommed; and, rendezvouſing at Kinnoge, advanced towards Agra. At the ſame time, Mai, the Afghan chief, who had joined Baber, deſerted him, with all his adherents: even the inhabitants of the country round Agra, cut off his foraging parties, and rendered it very difficult for him to ſupport his cavalry, or ſupply his troops with proviſions: Add to this, the intolerable heat of the weather, by which a great many Moguls, not being accuſtomed to ſuch a climate, died.

Baber's diſtreſs and reſolution.

In this ſituation of affairs, Baber received an addreſs from all his chiefs requeſting him to return to Cabul; to which he replied, That a kingdom which had coſt him ſo much pains in taking, was not to be wreſted from him but by death alone. He, at the ſame time, iſſued a proclamation, that he was determined to abide his fate in India; but if any perſon was deſirous of returning to Cabul,

preferring

preferring ſafety to glory, and ignoble eaſe to the manly toils and dangers of war, they might retire in peace, and leave him only thoſe whoſe valor would reflect honour on themſelves, and glory on their king and country. The omrahs hearing this, were aſhamed of their former behavior, and, ſtriking their breaſts, ſwore they would never forſake him; all, except Chaja Callân, whoſe bravery was too well eſtabliſhed to be diſputed, though he was adviſed, being at the point of death, to retire to recover his health. He was appointed governor of Cabul and Ghizni, for the great ſervices which he had rendered to the king. When it was known that Baber had determined not to leave Hindoſtan, as his anceſtor Timur had done, ſome omrahs, who were willing to be firſt in favor, began to come over to him; firſt, Gurin, with three thouſand horſe, from between the rivers, offered his ſervice, which was accepted. The next was Formalli, from Mewat, to redeem his ſons who had been taken in the battle; then Firoſe and Chirmali, with their whole dependents. A. D. 1526. Hig. 933.

Much about this time, an addreſs was received from Caſim, of Simbol, that Bein, an Afghan, was beſieging him in his fort, and that if the King would ſend him ſuccours, he would liſt himſelf among his ſervants. The king ſent a detachment, that way, who engaged the Afghan, and defeated him, after which Caſim put the Moguls in poſſeſſion of the fort. The king then ſent his ſon Humaioon, with the greateſt part of his army, againſt the confederate Patan omrahs, whoſe forces amounted to fifty thouſand horſe; but, upon Humaioon's approach, they retreated from Kinnoge to Jionpoor. Humaioon having prevailed upon Fati, the former emperor's vizier, to join him, ſent him to the king at Agra, who treated him with the utmoſt reſpect and favor, which induced ſeveral other Afghan chiefs to come over to his intereſt. Caſim of Simbol ſubmits.

A. D. 1526. Hig. 933.

Nizam, governor of Biana, submits.

Nizam, governor of Biana, though he was now hard preſſed by Rana Sinka, who wanted to make himſelf maſter of that province, ſtill refuſed to ſubmit to the king's authority, which obliged Baber to ſend Baba Kuli againſt him with a detachment, which was defeated. But Rana Sinka ſoon after reduced Nizam to ſuch extremities, that he ſent a deputation to Baber, begging pardon for his offence, and requeſting he would ſupport him, for which he was ready to pay him due allegiance. The king, glad of the opportunity, made no heſitation to embrace the offer, and, ſending a force to drive off Rana, Nizam was put in poſſeſſion of the place, which was ſettled upon him, with all its dependencies, for the annual payment of twenty lacks of rupees.

The governors of Gualier propoſe to ſubmit.

Tatar and Saring, who were in poſſeſſion of the fort of Gualiêr, being beſieged by the Indian prince of that country, in the ſame manner addreſſed the king for ſuccours. Baber diſpatched a detachment, which defeated the raja, but Saring recalled his promiſe, and refuſed to deliver up the place. There was in the fort, at that time, a philoſopher whoſe name was Shech Goſe, who had a great number of ſtudents under him, and who wrote to the Mogul general, to endeavour to get permiſſion to come himſelf into the fort, and that he would find means of accompliſhing the reſt of his deſires.

Gualier taken by a ſtratagem.

The Mogul, for this purpoſe, begged leave, as he had enemies all around him, to bring his troops under protection of the garriſon, for fear of a night aſſault, and that he might be permitted the honor of paying the philoſopher a viſit in the garriſon. This being agreed to, the Mogul was received into the fort with a few attendants. He, from time to time, pretended occaſion to ſend frequent meſſages in and out; till the officer of the guard troubled the gover-

nor

nor so often for leave, that he desired him to send one of his own servants to point out such necessary people as he might want to have free ingress and egress. The officer of the guard, who was a disciple of the philosopher, and who had been let into the plot, availed himself of this order, and permitted every body pointed out, to pass, by which means all the chosen men of the detachment were within the garrison before the entertainment was ended. Saring was told to give up the place, and threatened with instant death, in case of refusal; so having satisfied himself of the circumstances, he made a virtue of necessity, and replied, That had he not intended giving up the place to the king, he would never have been so unguarded as to permit his party to take this advantage, and accordingly submitted without resistance, and going in person to Agra, entered into the king's service. Zeiton, at the same time, arrived from Dolepoor, and had a command conferred upon him. A. D. 1526. Hig. 933.

Not long after these transactions, Hamid, Saring, and other Afghans, raised, by a family quarrel, a great disturbance in the castle of Firosa. The king sent Timur against them, who chastised both parties. In the year nine hundred and thirty three, Chajagi, who had gone ambassador from Cabul to congratulate Shaw Tamasp king of Persia, upon his accession, returned, accompanied by Soliman, and brought various curiosities. But that which pleased the king most, was two beautiful female slaves, just come to maturity, of whom he became greatly enamoured. The mother of the emperor Ibrahim, who had been before the greatest favorite in the seraglio, incensed at this change in the Sultan's affections, conspired with the taster and cook to poison him. The poison was accordingly administred in some hare-soup; but the king, after eating a few spoonfuls, nauseated the taste, and immediately vomited, which saved

An attempt to poison Baber.

A. D. 1526. Hig. 933.

saved his life. After proper enquiry had been made, the taster and cook denying their knowledge of any such thing, the king ordered a dog to be brought, who having eat of the soup, was soon seized with convulsions, and died. Two of the under cooks being also brought to the trial, expired in the same manner: upon which the taster and head cook, with several of their assistants, were put to the torture. The plot was discovered, and the mother of Ibrahim cast into prison, and all her wealth confiscated. One of Ibrahim's sons was sent, at the same time, to Cabul, where he remained in banishment. Prince Humaioon, having defeated the omrahs at Jionpoor, left Birlass to keep those provinces in awe, returned himself to court, having, upon his way, conciliated matters with Allum, governor of Calpee, who now accompanied him, and was received with great respect.

Baber alarmed with a confederacy against him.

The king was, at this time, suddenly alarmed by advices that many Patan omrahs with Mahmood, the son of the emperor Secunder, and other chiefs and rajas in alliance, whose force exceeded one hundred thousand horse, were preparing to attack him. Baber, having no dependence on the Patan chiefs, who had joined him, detached them to defend different provinces, and with his own Moguls, hastened towards the enemy. His van guard falling in with their's, upon the frontiers of Biana, after a sharp conflict, were repulsed by the enemy with great loss, which struck unusual terror into the King's small army. Neazi fled to Simbol, Hassen joined the enemy, and every day brought disagreeable intelligence from all quarters. Nor did the predictions of Sherif a little add to the general consternation. This pretended wizard averred, that Brisput * was in the east, and consequently, that whoever marched from the west should be overthrown.

* The planet Mars.

The

The King perceiving this panic, called, immediately, a council of war. The greateſt part of the officers gave it, as their opinion, that, as the ſuperiority of the enemy was evident, it was adviſeable to leave a ſtrong garriſon in Agra, and to retreat with the bulk of the army to Punjaab. Baber, with a diſcontented aſpect, fixed his eyes, in ſilence, upon the ground. He, at length, ſternly aſked the chiefs, What would the world ſay of a monarch, whom the fear of death ſhould oblige to abandon ſuch a kingdom? "The "voice of glory," ſaid he, "is loud in my ear, and forbids me "to diſgrace my name, by giving up what my arms have, with "ſo much difficulty, acquired. But, as death is at laſt unavoid-"able, let us rather meet him with honor, face to face, than "ſhrink back, to gain a few years of a miſerable and ignominious "exiſtence; for what can we inherit but fame, beyond the limits "of the grave." The whole aſſembly, as if inſpired with one ſoul, cried out, at once, "War! War!" The King, having been formerly much addicted to wine, made a vow never to drink any more, ſhould he, upon this occaſion, prove victorious. Orders were immediately iſſued to prohibit the ſale of wine in the camp: not ſo much from ſuperſtition, as to keep the mind cool for action.

A. D. 1526. Hig. 933. A council of war.

Upon the ninth of the ſecond Jimmad, of the year nine hundred and thirty three, which happened to be Noroſe *, Baber formed his line of battle, with his guns and rockets in his front. In that order he moved towards the enemy, who lay at the diſtance of ſix miles. But after he had advanced two miles he halted, and encamped his army. Several young warriors, fond of diſtinguiſhing themſelves, iſſued out, under the command of Mahom-

Baber marches towards the enemy.

* New-year's day.

med

A. D. 1526. Hig. 933.

med Casim, to skirmish with the enemy's scouts and advanced guards, among whom they did great execution.

The enemy advance to attack him.

The King, next day, advanced two miles further, and marked out his camp at the village of Kava, but his tents were scarcely pitched, when he perceived the enemy advancing upon him. He formed his line with great expedition, in the manner which he had practised for some days before, and, in a few minutes, was able to receive the shock of battle. The army was chiefly drawn up by Nizam Chalipha, whom Baber reckoned his ablest general; and this order of battle being, on account of circumstances, different from the former, we shall relate it at large in this place.

The order of battle.

The line, which upon this occasion was single, consisted of six brigades, exclusive of the King's life guards in the center, where Baber posted himself. Before each of the brigades, a few paces in front, the King placed a squadron of light horse, which formed another kind of line with great intervals. In front of the whole, the artillery and rocket-waggons were drawn up in three divisions, the right, left, and center. The guns were chained together, so that there was a kind of fortification formed against the enemy's cavalry. The brigade immediately to the right of the center, was commanded by Timur, consisting of his own tribe, and the troops of many other omrahs of distinction. The brigade to the left of the center was under the immediate orders of Allum, a descendant of the emperor Beloli, and composed of his national troops, and those of five other nobles. The two brigades of the right wing were commanded in chief by prince Humaioon, and of these the right hand brigade consisted of the troops of Casim Hussein, and other chiefs of family and experience in war. The left hand

hand battalion of prince Humaioon's diviſion was made up of the troops of Seid Amir, and of thoſe of other ſix nobles of the Mogul race.

A. D. 1526.
Hig. 933.

The two brigades of the left wing were commanded by Seid Chaja; the left hand battalion of whoſe diviſion was compoſed of different ſquadrons, commanded by their reſpective chiefs. The right hand brigade was made up of the troops of Angi the Mogul, and thoſe of Kumal, of the race of Alla, formerly emperor of India. The light horſe of the left wing were commanded by Tirdi Beg; and thoſe of the right wing by Mahmood Caſim. Mahommed, the captain-general, took poſt before the King, with all his yeſſawils †, and a choice body of horſe.

The battle begins.

About ten o'clock in the forenoon the action was commenced by the artillery. The left of the enemy, charging the right of the Moguls, ſoon fell in hand to hand, with the battalions of Kokultaſh and Malleck Caſim, and made them give ground. But Timur, by the Sultan's orders, inclining to the right with his brigade, took up their ground, and falling upon the aſſailants with great fury, put them to flight, the light horſe purſuing them with great ſlaughter, quite through their own line. The enemy, in the mean time, being ſo numerous, extended their flanks far beyond the wings of the King, and came down upon him from all ſides. Baber ordered his right and left wing to fall back, by which means his army was thrown into a circle. In this poſition he reſiſted the repeated aſſaults of the Patans till three o'clock, Alla Kuli of Rumi*, who commanded the artillery, making great ſlaughter among them.

Baber's army ſurrounded.

Baber

† Aids de camp.

* Rumi is the name of the leſſer Aſia, ſo called from its being a part of the Roman

A. D. 1526.
Hig. 933.

Baber finding the enemy fatigued by their repeated assaults, determined to act offensively, to drive them quite out of the field. He therefore put himself at the head of the brigades of Timur and Allum, and charging them like a lion rushing from his forest, after an obstinate resistance put their whole army to flight. Hassen of Mewat, was killed with a cannon shot, and Raw Luddive, Chunder Ban, Manuk Chohan, Kirim Sing, all powerful princes of the enemy, were numbered among the dead. The King, immediately after the victory, assumed the title of Ghazi †; and, as a monument to perpetuate the memory of the battle, he ordered a pyramid to be built upon an eminence near the field, which, according to the custom of his age and nation, was stuck round with the heads of the slain. The astrologer, after being severely reprimanded for his false prediction, was presented with a lack of rupees, and banished from the kingdom.

He overthrows the enemy.

Reduces Mavat.

Baber, from this fortunate field, marched towards Mavat, where Nihar, the son of Hassen, seeing no other means of safety, submitted himself and the country to the King. The government of Mavat was conferred upon Timur. After these transactions, Baber returned to Agra, from whence he sent his son Humaioon to Cabul, with orders to add Balich to that province, and to rule both in his own name. Ali, and Tirdi Beg, were ordered against Hussein and Diria, who still kept possession of Chandwar and Raberi. But upon the approach of the Moguls, they fled, and Hussein was drowned in crossing the Jumna, while Diria escaped. Mahommed, the King's cousin, was detached at the same time

Roman empire. It is remarkable that the Eastern nations call the Ottomans, Romans to this day.

† Ghazi signifies a warrior.

to

to Kinnoge, against Bein the Afgnan, who fled from thence to Cheirabad. A. D. 1527. Hig. 934.

Baber invests Chinderi.

Upon the twenty ninth of Zihidge, in the year nine hundred and thirty four, the King marched to hunt towards Kole and Simbol. Having diverted himself with the chace for some time, he returned to his capital, and was taken ill of a fever, of which however he soon recovered. He then marched towards Chinderi, where Medeni Rai, a Hindoo chief, had shut himself up with a strong garrison of Rajaputs. The place was invested, and the Rajaputs sallied out, and attacked the King, but they paid dear for their rashness, and lost six thousand men upon the field. Those who returned after this defeat into the fort, seeing no hopes of defending it longer against the enemy, according to their dreadful custom, murdered their wives and children in the following manner. They placed a sword in the hand of one of their chiefs, and he slew the unhappy victims, who, one after another, bent, of their own accord, their necks before him; they even contended among themselves about the honor of being first slain. The soldiers then threw a yellow powder upon their garments, as on a day of festivity, and throwing loose their hair, issued forth with their swords and shields, and fought after that death, which they all obtained. The empty fort fell into the hands of the Moguls.

Defeats the omrahs of the east.

Advices were, about this time, received, that a detachment, which had been sent against the Patan chiefs of the tribe of Lodi, who held still the Eastern provinces, was defeated. The King, therefore, left Ahmed, the son of Mahommed, and grand-son of Sultan Nasir of Malava, who had now joined him, in the government of Chinderi, and marched in person towards Kinnoge. He met his defeated troops at Raberi, and arriving at the river, he

A. D. 1528. Hig. 935.

threw over it a bridge of boats. His general Timur was ordered to cross in the front, the enemy being then on the opposite shore. After a faint resistance, the Patans gave way; but Timur pursuing them, took part of their baggage, and a great number of their women and children.

Arrives at Agra.

The King, after this victory, hunted, for a few days, upon the banks of the Gang, and then returned to Agra. He appointed Zeman, one of the posterity of Timur, for he was the son of Budeli ul Zeman Mirza, of Balich, governor of the city, and, in the year nine hundred and thirty five, marched himself to survey the country. He first took the route of Gualier, and viewed there the fortifications, the stone elephant, and the palace of the Raja. He then visited the gardens of Rehim, and ordered some flowers and plants, of an uncommon kind, to be transplanted to Agra. He went to worship in the great mosque, built by the Emperor Altumsh, for whose soul he ordered prayers to be read, and returned, by another way, to Agra.

Falls sick.

Baber, soon after his return to Agra, was seized with an intermitting fever, which continued upon him for eight months. Some superstitious people advised him, during his sickness, to write a poem in praise of Chaja Ahrar, one of the saints, to induce him to intercede with God for his health. Baber, though it is highly probable he did not give much credit to the power of the saint, actually wrote the poem, in the measure of Mowlani Jami. The King recovered from his disorder about the eighth of the first Ribbi. He offered up public thanks to God for the restoration of his health, and made a great feast upon the occasion. He distributed magnificent presents among the omrahs and foreign ambassadors, and bestowed large sums to gladden the hearts of the poor.

During

During this feſtival, Chandamire, the author of the Habib al Sier, Mowlana Mammai, and Mirza Ibrahim Canooni, who came from Herât, and were eſteemed the greateſt men for literature in that age, were introduced to the King: He loaded them with his favors, and ordered them places near his own perſon.

A. D. 1528. Hig. 935.

The Emperor's relation Aſhkari, who governed Moultan, was, this year, ordered to court, and having exhibited the tokens of obedience, he was commanded to go againſt Nuſerit, one of the Patan chiefs, on the borders of the Decan. Nuſerit, hearing of the approach of the Moguls, ſent an ambaſſador to the King, ſubjecting himſelf to the royal authority. Nizam Beri, prince of Ahmednagur, at the ſame time ſent to congratulate Baber on his good fortune, and proffered obedience. Baber, towards the cloſe of this year, received advices that Mahmood, the ſon of the Emperor Secunder Lodi, had poſſeſſed himſelf of the province of Behar, and that one Bellocha had erected the ſtandard of rebellion in Moultan. The King ſent orders to his omrahs in the north-weſt, concerning the affairs of Moultan, and marched in perſon towards Behar. When he arrived at Kurrah, Jellal, deſcended of that dynaſty of Patans, who ſtiled themſelves Emperors of the Eaſt, prepared a royal entertainment for him, and was honored with his preſence. Zeman was detached from Kurrah to the conqueſt of Behar. He ſoon drove Mahmood out of the field.

Aſhkari ſent againſt Nuſerit, who ſubmits.

But a few months after, the Afghans of Behar, collecting themſelves together a ſecond time, advanced to the Gang, oppoſite to Hideri. The King detached Aſhkari with a diviſion of the troops to oppoſe them, and next day followed that officer with the whole army. When he came to the banks of the river, and ſaw the ene-

A. D. 1529. Hig. 936.

my on the oppofite bank, he was preparing boats to crofs; but Timur begged permiffion to go before. As foon as he made his landing good with eighty horfe, Afhkari, who had croffed at another place, appeared in the enemies rear; and they immediately took to flight. The King, after this action, left Junied Birlafs to profecute the war in conjunction with Nuferit, and returned to pafs the rainy feafon in Agra. He vifited, upon his way, Shech Eiah, at Monier, the father of Sherrif Moniri, and carried him to court.

Tranfactions in Cabul.

The prince Humaioon having left his brother Hindal to govern in his abfence, returned about this time from Cabul to vifit his father. Seid Chan of Argund, took this opportunity of invading Buduchfhan, and fent a force to attack Minkilla. Hindal, upon the approach of the enemy, retreated into the fort of Ziffer, where he was befieged. Seid of Argund, finding that he could not reduce the place, and that the inhabitants would not join him, ravaged the country, and returned home. But as the news of his retreat had not reached Agra, the government of Buduchfhan was beftowed upon Soliman, one of the race of Timur, who fet out immediately for that province with a letter from the King to Seid, expreffing his furprize at hoftilities, for which he could not account, but by fome mifbehavior of his fon Hindal; that, therefore, he had fent another perfon, who was allied to them both, to fupply his place. When Soliman arrived, he found the country in perfect tranquillity, and took poffeffion of the government, which his family have kept to this day. The prince Hindal returned to Agra.

Baber falls fick,

In the year nine hundred and thirty fix, the Sultan fell fick, and his diforder continued daily to gain ftrength, in fpite of the power

of medicine. Despairing at last of life, he recalled his son Humaiooon, who was then besieging the fort of Callinger, and appointed him his successor. Upon Monday, the fifth of the first Jemmad, in the year nine hundred and thirty seven, he resigned in peace that life which he had so often exposed in war. According to his will, his body was carried to Cabul, and interred in a holy sepulchre. A. D. 1530. Hig. 937. and dies.

What shall we say of Baber, the wonder of the age in which he lived! He mounted a throne at twelve years of age, and, with various turns of fortune, reigned thirty eight. He was a prince of great humanity, and carried his generosity to such excess, that it bordered upon prodigality. With respect to the first, he so often pardoned ingratitude and treason, that he seemed to make a principle of rendering good for evil. He thus disarmed vice, and made the wicked the worshipers of his virtue. His character.

He was of the sect of the Hanifites, in whose doctrine and tenets he was perfectly versed; yielding more to the evidence of reason, than to the marvellous legends of superstitious antiquity. He was not, however, forgetful of that rational worship which is due to the great Creator, nor a despiser of those laws and ceremonies which are founded on sound policy for the benefit of the superficial judges of things. He was a master in the arts of Poetry, Writing, and Music. He wrote his own Commentaries in the Mogul language, with such elegance and propriety, that they are universally admired. This work was translated, in the reign of Ackbar, by Chan Chanan, into the Persian language, and from it we have abridged the preceding history of the life of Baber. His religion. His genius for the fine arts.

In his person, he was something above the middle size, nervous, and His person.

A. D. 1530. Hig. 937.

and well formed. His countenance was pleasant, and in disposition he was easy, facetious, and affable.

His justice.

To establish his reputation for justice and honor, we shall relate one instance out of many. When he was prince of Firghana, a rich caravan of Chitta and China, which was crossing the mountains of Indija, was buried in the snow. He ordered all the goods to be collected, and sent messengers to China to proclaim the accident, and bring the owners, or their heirs, to his court. Upon their arrival, at the end of two years, he entertained them hospitably, and returned them all their goods, not only refusing to accept a present, but even to be reimbursed for his expences.

Addicted to pleasure.

Notwithstanding his great vigor in war, he was much addicted to wine and women, and all the fashionable pleasures of courts. He sometimes used, when he had an inclination to make merry, to fill a fountain with wine, upon which was inscribed a verse to this purpose: "Jovial days! Blooming springs! Old wine, and "young maidens! Enjoy freely, O Baber, for life is not twice "to be enjoyed!" He then would sit down in the midst of his friends, drink freely, and feast his eyes on the daughters of beauty who danced before him.

Whithersoever he marched, or rode, he always had the road measured after him. This custom obtains with the emperors of Hindostan to this day. He made a statute concerning the measurement of distances, which has hitherto remained in force. He appointed a hundred tinnabs to one crore, each tinnab being forty guz *.

* A guz is not quite an English yard.

With

A. D. 1530. Hig. 937.

His talents for war.

With respect to his military character, he seems to have had few that could equal him. He rendered the most dangerous enterprizes easy, by his undaunted courage and perseverance, which rose above all difficulties, and made him much more the object of admiration in his adversity, than in the height of his prosperity. Nor did he forget himself in the latter, but always behaved with that moderation and equanimity which characterizes a great soul.

His genealogy.

We have already traced Baber's descent from Timur; but as he was the founder of a great dynasty, it will be proper to follow his genealogy further back into antiquity. The great Zingis Chan, the son of Pissuka, the son of Pirna, had four sons of renown, who were all Kings, and the fathers of nations. Their names were Oktai, Zagatay, Zuzi, and Tuli. Though Oktai was not the eldest son, yet he was, by his father, appointed his successor, and ruled over the extensive empire of Asia, in the city of Caracorum, the original capital of his father's hereditary dominions. Oktai died, by excess of wine, in the year six hundred and thirty nine.

The family of Timur, or Tamerlane.

Zagatay, the second son of Zingis, possessed the kingdoms of Maverulnere, Tirkestân, Balich, and Buduchshan, in subordination to his brother Oktai. Kirachar Nevian, who was the fifth ancestor of Timur, was one of his nobles, and, at length, captain general of all his forces. The genealogy of Kirrachar runs thus: Timur, the son of Jiraga, the son of Birkit, the son of Alingar, the son of Abil, the son of Kirrachar, the son of Sagungi, the son of Ibumgi Berlass, the son of Katchuli, the son of Jumnai, the son of Basinker, the son of Kidu, who, by the mother's side, was descended from Basinger, a princess, from whom Zingis derived his pedigree. The family of Timur had also married into that of Zingis,

A. D. 1530. Hig. 937.

Zingis, fo that Timur Bec was lineally defcended from that conqueror of all Afia.

State of Afia at the death of Baber.

Tamafp, the fecond of the Sophi dynafty, began his reign feven years before the death of Baber. He held the empire of all Perfia and Maver-ul-nere or Tranfoxiana, in peace for more than ten years after his acceffion. The provinces between Chorassan and India remained in the houfe of Baber.

HUMAIOON.

THE Prince HUMAIOON, by the title of Nasir ul Dien Mahommed, immediately after the death of Baber, mounted the throne of his father, in India. He was a great astronomer, and took much delight in judicial astrology. He fitted up seven houses of entertainment, and named them after the seven planets. In each he gave public audience, according to the ruling planet of the day, ordering all the furniture, paintings, and also the dresses of those who waited upon him, to bear something that was an emblem of the tutelar star of the house. He even endeavoured to suit the people, who came to pay their respects, to the supposed influence of the planet, which presided over the time of their attendance. In the house of the Moon met foreign embassadors, travellers, and poets. Military men attended him in the house of Brisput *, and judges, lawgivers, and secretaries, were received in that of the Recorder of Heaven †.

A. D. 1530. Hig. 937. Humaioon a great astronomer.

But the urgency of important affairs did not permit Humaioon to follow long these innocent whims. Such only suited the days of peace, when the mind might enjoy her harmless follies. He scarcely had ascended the throne, when his brother, Camiran, who was then in Cabul, formed a design of making himself master of Punjâb. To conceal his intentions, he gave out, that he was going into Hindostan, to congratulate Humaioon upon his accession. The king being, however, apprized of Camiran's views, by his behavior in those countries through which he passed, and being extremely unwilling to make war upon his brother, con-

Designs of his brother against him.

* The planet Mars. † Mercury.

A. D. 1531. Hig. 938.

ſented to let him govern the provinces from the moſt ſouthern branch of the Indus to Perſia, holding them of the empire. This effectually ſtopped the progreſs of Camiran. The king, in the mean time, conferred the government of Mewat upon Hindal, his brother, and appointed his relation Aſkari to that of Simbol, the other provinces being left in the poſſeſſion of the former ſubas.

Beſieges Callinger.

Humaioon, in the year nine hundred and thirty eight, led an army againſt the ſtrong fortreſs of Callinger, and inveſted the place. While the king carried on the ſiege, Mahmood, the ſon of the emperor Secunder Lodi, in conjunction with Bein the Afgan, took poſſeſſion of Jionpoor, and kindled the flames of war in the eaſtern provinces. Humaioon, having received intelligence of theſe commotions, decamped from before Callinger, marched to Jionpoor, in a pitched battle overthrew the Afghans, and reinſtated Juneid Birlaſs in his former government of that province.

Demands poſſeſſion of Chinâr.

The emperor, after this ſignal victory, returned to Agra, and beſtowed honorary dreſſes upon above twelve thouſand of his courtiers. He, in the mean time, diſpatched a herald to Shere Chan, and demanded poſſeſſion of the fortreſs of Chinâr *, which being refuſed, Humaioon marched his army that way. When the King lay before Chinâr, he was informed, that Bahadur, King of Guzerat, had turned towards him the points of his ſpears. This obliged him to patch up a kind of a peace with Shere, and to return towards Agra. Cuttub, the ſon of Shere, whom the emperor had taken as an hoſtage, found means, on the way, to make his eſcape, and to return to his father at Chinâr.

* Chinâr is a very ſtrong fortreſs in the province of Oud, within ſeven crores of Benaris. Both Shere Chan and Sultan Bahadur were governors under the former empire, and had, after the death of Ibrahim, aſſumed independence.

Mahommed.

Mahommed Zeman of the race of Timur, the grandson of Hussein aspired to the throne, and was supported in his pretensions by the omrahs of Chigittai. The plot was discovered, and the leader of the conspiracy pardoned: But Humaioon finding him, a second time, meditating treasonable practices, he ordered him to be confined in the fortress of Biana. Orders were given to put out the eyes of Mahummud Sultan and Nuserit Mirza, for being the principal abettors of the prince's ambitious designs; but the person to whom it was intrusted to inflict this punishment, saved the eyes of the former, while the latter found means to escape to Guzerat. Sultan, by the aid of his sons Ali Mirza and Shaw Mirza, who formed a party, was carried away to Kinnoge, where he was joined by about six thousand Moguls, Afghans, and Rajaputs. A. D. 1531. Hig. 938. A conspiracy discovered.

Humaioon sent to Bahadur, under whose dominion was the city of Kinnoge, and commanded him to deliver up Mahommed, but he rejected the orders in an insolent manner, which obliged the emperor to march against him. Bahadur king of Guzerat had, about this time, resolved to wrest the fort of Chitor from the Rana. Rana threw himself under the protection of Humaioon; but the emperor, for what reason is not known, having advanced as far as Gualier, encamped there for two months, and returned, without effecting any thing, to Agra. Rana, despairing of relief, sent a crown, and a considerable sum of money, to Bahadur, which induced him to raise the siege. Rebellion at Kinnoge.

Bahadur, whose affairs were now in a very prosperous situation, by the reduction of Mendu, and other places, began to shew his contempt of Humaioon, by advancing the conspirator Mahommed to great honors. He also prompted Alla, descended of the emperor Beloli Lodi, to attempt to possess himself of the throne of Bahadur.

A. D. 1532. Hig. 939. ſends an army againſt Humaioon,

of Delhi. He, for this purpoſe, made Tatar, the ſon of Sultan Alla, his general, and diſpatched him, with forty thouſand men, againſt Humaioon, with which he ſubdued Biana, and advanced to the environs of Agra.

This preſſing danger awakened the king from his lethargy. He immediately ſent his brother, the prince Hindal, with a force, to oppoſe Tatar. When the armies approached one another, there was ſo great a deſertion from Tatar's troops, that, in the ſpace of ten days, ten thouſand horſe ſcarce remained to him. He however reſolved, with theſe, to ſtand his ground, and give battle to the imperial army, but he was totally overthrown, loſt the moſt of his troops, three hundred officers of diſtinction, and his own life. Hindal, after this victory, retook Biana, and all the other places which had before fallen into the hands of the enemy, and returned in triumph to Agra.

which is totally defeated.

Bahadur marches againſt Chitor.

Bahadur, in the year nine hundred and forty, marched, a ſecond time, towards Chitor; and, in the mean time, Humaioon ordered a fort to be built in Delhi, on the banks of the Jumna, which he called Panna. He, ſoon after, marched towards Saringpoor, which then held of Bahadur, as King of Guzerat, and wrote to him a punning couplet, unworthy of the dignity and majeſty of a king. Chitor, in the Perſian language, ſignifies, *in what manner*; and upon this was founded the miſerable witticiſm contained in the verſes. The words were, "O thou plunderer of the city of Chitor! *in what manner* canſt thou conquer the idolaters? For when "thou wouldſt wiſh to conquer Chitor; thou know'ſt not *in what* "*manner* the king comes to conquer thee." Bahadur anſwered Humaioon in his own ſtrain, and in the following words: "I, "who am the plunderer of Chitor, will conquer the idolaters

3 by

"by valor; and he who dares not ſuccour Chitor, ſhall ſee "*in what manner* he himſelf ſhall be conquered." The wit is wretched on both ſides; but he who began the pun is moſt to blame.

A. D. 1533. Hig. 940.

Bahadur, after ſending the above billet to Humaioon, called a council of war. It was the open opinion of the majority, that as Humaioon had all his force with him, it were better to raiſe the ſiege, and march againſt him, and thus to take up the war by the roots. Others urged, that Humaioon was ſo rigid in his religious principles, that he would not diſturb them in their war with idolaters; that therefore it was moſt adviſeable to finiſh the ſiege, which was now far advanced, and afterwards to think of other matters. Bahadur himſelf favoured the latter opinion. The ſiege was accordingly continued; and Humaioon, piquing himſelf upon his religious principles, continued loitering at Saringpoor, till Bahadur had taken the fort. Bahadur, in the year nine hundred and forty one, marched with great expedition againſt Humaioon, who, hearing of his approach, marched forward to meet him. The two armies appeared in front of each other, near Munſoor. Bahadur, who had collected a great train of artillery, by advice of his engineer, Rumi Chan, entrenched his army, and placed his cannon in redoubts, in his front. This prevented Humaioon from riſquing an attack, and both armies continued in ſight of one another for the ſpace of two months. Daily ſkirmiſhes were, in the mean time, fought, with various ſucceſs.

Calls a council of war.

Humaioon, finding that he could not draw Bahadur out of his trenches, employed all his attention to cut off his ſupplies. He ordered his horſe, in ſucceſſive bodies of five or ſix thouſand, to ſcour the rear of the enemy, by which means famine began ſoon to

Humaioon cuts off his ſupplies.

A. D. 1534. Hig. 941.

to be ſeverely felt in their camp; men, horſes, elephants, and camels, periſhing daily in great numbers.

Cowardice and flight of Bahadur.

Bahadur, inſtead of making one brave effort to relieve himſelf, permitted baſe fear and deſpair to ſeize upon him; and, with only five friends, left his camp in the night, and fled towards Mindu. This was no ſooner known, than the flight became general; the chiefs diſperſing themſelves, with their adherents. Humaioon, in the morning, ordered the purſuit to commence, which was continued, as far as Mindu, with great ſlaughter of the unfortunate wretches, who had neither the power to eſcape, nor the means to defend themſelves. Bahadur threw himſelf into Mindu, and the place was cloſely inveſted.

Mindu taken by ſurprize.

In a few days, three hundred Moguls ſcaled the walls of Mindu, in the night; and though the garriſon conſiſted of many thouſands, ſuch was their panic, that they all betook themſelves to flight. Bahadur eſcaped to Chapanier, which was then the capital of Guzerat, while Sidder Chan, his captain general, who was dangerouſly wounded, not able to proceed farther, ſhut himſelf up in the fort of Sunkar, where, being beſieged, he capitulated the ſecond day, and was, on account of his excellent character, received into great favor. Sidder, during the purſuit, ſaved Bahadur, when almoſt taken by Humaioon, by throwing himſelf in between the kings, till his maſter had an opportunity of making his eſcape. But he himſelf was attacked with ſuch violence by Humaioon, in perſon, that, after receiving many wounds, he got off with great difficulty.

Humaioon purſues Bahadur.

The king, three days after the taking of Mindu, renewed the purſuit after Bahadur, who, having taken all his treaſure and jewels out of the city of Chapanier, fled towards Amudabad. The

The king, giving up the city of Chapanier to plunder, and committing the ſiege of the citadel, which ſtill held out, to Dowlat Birlaſs, continued to purſue Bahadur. The unfortunate Bahadur, hearing of his approach, fled to Cambait, but Humaioon purſuing him thither, he retired to the iſland of Deo, Humaioon arriving in Cambait the very evening of the ſame day in which Bahadur forſook it. A. D. 1534. Hig. 941.

Humaioon remained a few days in this place, but hearing that Bahadur's wealth was moſtly in the citadel of Chapanier, he returned to carry on that ſiege. Achtiar, who commanded in the place, defended it with great bravery. But though he had ſome years proviſion in the fort, he was covetous of more, and took in daily ſupplies by a certain part of the citadel, which was covered by a thick wood. The king, one day, reconnoitring the place, obſerved the proceedings of Achtiar, with regard to the proviſions. He immediately ſeized upon a party of country people who carried the ſupplies through the woods. He perſuaded, or rather commanded them, to carry him, in diſguiſe, to the place. They had admittance. The king made the neceſſary remarks, returned to his camp, and the ſame night ordered a parcel of iron ſpikes to be made. Returns to the ſiege of the citadel.

He himſelf, with three hundred ſelect men, went to the place, while feigned attacks were made upon every other quarter of the fort. As the acceſs to this part of the fortreſs was extremely difficult, the attention of the enemy was entirely drawn towards the different aſſaults. This furniſhed the king with an opportunity of fixing his iron ſpikes in the wall, by which means thirty-nine officers mounted, and the king himſelf made the fortieth. Before ſun-riſe his whole detachment was within the walls, when he diſ- His gallant exploit.

A. D. 1535. Hig. 942.

played a ſignal which had been previouſly ſettled with his troops. They accordingly made a violent aſſault upon all ſides, and Humaioon, in the mean time, at the head of his detachment, cried out, Alla Akbar! * and forcing his way, ſword in hand, through the enemy, poſſeſſed himſelf of one of the gates: he immediately opened it, and admitted his troops, and all, except Achtiar and his family, who were in an outwork, were put to the ſword. The governor defended himſelf ſo bravely, that he obtained a capitulation. The great ſtrength of this place, the numerous garriſon, and the boldneſs of the attempt by which it fell, rendered this action of the king, equal, in the opinion of all mankind, to any thing of the like nature recorded in hiſtory. Here the treaſure of Guzerat, which had been collected in the courſe of many years, was diſtributed among the troops. He gave to the officers and ſoldiers what wealth could be heaped upon their reſpective ſhields, proportioning the value of the things to their rank and merit. All the wealth of Room, Chitta, and Frîng †, which had been there collected, to a vaſt amount, was delivered over to plunder.

Bahadur levies forces.

Bahadur having ſecured himſelf in Deo, ſent Chirkuſs to Ahmedabad, to collect the revenues, and levy troops. He found himſelf ſoon at the head of fifty thouſand men, and was daily gaining ſtrength and reputation. Humaioon having intelligence of the tranſactions of Bahadur, appointed Tirdi Beg to command the fort of Chapanier, and the adjacent countries, and marched in perſon with his army towards Ahmedabad. Chirkuſs drew out his troops to oppoſe him, and falling in with the vanguard of the imperia-

* That is, God is greateſt.

† The Turkiſh Empire, China, and Europe.

liſts,

A. D. 1535. Hig. 942.

liſts, commanded by the prince Aſhkari, and he was defeated before the reſt of the army could be brought up to the engagement. The king, for this ſignal ſervice, appointed Aſhkari governor of the ſplendid city of Ahmedabad. He divided then the provinces of Guzerat among his omrahs, and marched againſt Burhanpoor. Nizam, of Burhan, and the other princes of the Decan, apprehenſive of his deſigns to reduce Chandez, wrote to him letters of ſubmiſſion and allegiance.

Humaioon reduces all Guzerat.

The inſurrection under Shere Chan.

Theſe letters had ſcarce arrived, when the news of the inſurrection of Shere Chan came to the king. He, however, reduced all the countries about Burhanpoor, then marched round to Mindu. Chirkuſs, in the mean time, in conjunction with the omrahs of Guzerat, began again to acquire ſtrength, and marched, with an army, towards Ahmedabad. Humaioon, having marched into the eaſtern provinces, inveſted Chinar, and reduced it, after a ſiege of ſix months. Having then gained the paſſes, he entered Bengal. Shere, in the mean time, carried away the treaſure of the princes of Gour and Bengal, whom he had reduced, and fled to the mountains of Jarcund. The king continued his march to Gour, the capital of Bengal, took it, and commanded it to be called Ginnitabad *. Having reſided in that city for the ſpace of three months, he was obliged, on account of the moiſt air of that country, by which the greateſt part of his army fell ſick, as well as by the rebellion of his brother the prince Hindal at Agra, to return.

The brothers diſagree.

Hindal, had been ſent to ſuppreſs Mahommed Mirza, who, we have already obſerved, had eſcaped to Kinnoge. But inſtead of performing that ſervice, he, as ſoon as he ſaw himſelf at the head

* The paradiſial city.

A.D. 1539. Hig. 946.

of an army, began to aspire to the throne. He accordingly marched back to Agra, where he discovered his treasonable intentions, by putting some of the principal people, who rejected his authority, to death. He thus enforced obedience, and throwing away every disguise, ordered the chutba to be read in his own name, and, with all the ensigns of royalty, marched to Delhi, and besieged it. The king, having heard of these proceedings, left Jehangire and Ibrahim to command in Bengal, and hastened towards Agra. When he was about half way, Mahommed Zeman, of the race of Timur, who had formerly joined Bahadur, returned from Sind, and, being promised a pardon, joined the king with a considerable party. In the mean time, Shere the Afghan, finding the king's army so much weakened by sickness and desertion, and his affairs further perplexed by the rebellion of Hindal, marched with his troops from Rotas, and came behind the king on the Jossa *. Both armies lay three months inactive, at a time when the king ought to have run all hazards, being every day insulted, and more and more distressed by the enemy, who prevented his crossing the river.

Camiran mounts the throne in Agra.

To add still to Humaioon's misfortunes, his other brother, Camiran, instead of assisting him, ungenerously aspired to his throne, and marched, with ten thousand horse, from Lahore. When he arrived at Delhi, prince Hindal prevailed upon him, to join his forces with his own, after which they both continued the siege. Ali, who commanded in the city, acquainted Camiran, that he could never think of betraying his trust, and rather than be so ungrateful to his prince, he was determined to hold out to the last drop of his blood; but, that, if he would first possess himself of Agra, the capital, and entirely subdue his brother, he would

* Perhaps the Sone, or Carimnassa.

I then,

then, and not till then, give up the city of Delhi. When Camiran and his brother found the governor so determined, and that the siege would cost them much blood and time, they set out together for Agra. When they had reached the environs of that city, the jealousy, which the brothers naturally entertained of each other, the eyes of both being turned towards the throne, broke out into open war. Hindal, being deserted by many of his party, fled to Alwir, with five thousand horse, and three hundred elephants; and Camiran, entering Agra, assumed all the imperial ensigns. A. D. 1539. Hig. 946.

Humaioon endeavoured, by every possible argument with his brothers, to bring about a coalition of interests against Shere, telling them, that their family quarrels would certainly, in the end, lose them that mighty empire, which had cost their father so much pains to conquer, and involve the family of Timur in one common ruin; that it was, therefore, adviseable to join against the common enemy, and afterwards divide the empire amongst themselves. These arguments had no weight with his brothers, who were so blinded with ambition, that they were determined rather to lose all, than be contented with a part. They vainly hoping that after Shere had defeated Humaioon, they should be able to subdue Shere; and each had the folly to suppose, that he would be able to exclude the other, and so reign alone. Humaioon endeavours in vain to bring over his brothers.

At this juncture, Shere sent the learned Chelili, a dervish of great reputation, to Humaioon, to treat about a peace, which the king accepted, with gladness, upon the following conditions: That Shere should content himself with Bengal and Behar, which he was to hold in the king's name, paying a small acknowledgment. Makes peace with Shere.

When

A. D. 1539. Hig. 946. Treachery of Shere.

When the conditions were ſigned and ratified by mutual oaths, Humaioon, truſting too much to the faith of his enemy, permitted a free intercourſe between both armies. This was what the perfidious Shere aimed at by the peace. He accordingly, next morning, ſurprized the emperor's camp, before day-break, and totally defeated him. As the bridge of boats, which the king had been preparing, was not finiſhed, there was no way of eſcape left, but by plunging into the river; all the boats being ſeized by a party of the enemy, who had turned the rear of the emperor's army. Humaioon, his nobles, and a great part of his army, were forced into the ſtream, where eight thouſand Moguls, excluſive of Hindoos, were drowned, among whom was the prince, Mahommed Zeman. This terrible overthrow happened to Humaioon in the year nine hundred and forty-ſix.

Humaioon overthrown.

Eſcapes to Agra.

The king, by the aſſiſtance of a waterman, having with great difficulty ſwam acroſs the river, with a few who had ſurvived the ſlaughter of this dreadful day, fled to Agra. Prince Camiran hearing of this defeat, haſtened from Agra to Alwir, to conſult with his brother Hindal. Finding that now the Afghans were likely to prevail, they were aſhamed of their behavior to their brother, and, when it was too late, thought proper to ſupport him. In the mean time, all the mogul omrahs who were diſperſed in the provinces, ſeeing that the power of their nation had ſuſtained ſuch a violent ſhock, found it alſo neceſſary to unite their ſtrength. They accordingly haſtened from all quarters to Agra; Jehangire, and Ibrahim, having left Bengal, and even Mahommed Mirza, who had rebelled in Kinnoge, joined now in the general cauſe againſt the Afghans.

Quarrels between the brothers.

The three brothers having met at Agra, held daily conſultations; but Camiran, who was not earneſt in reconciling their different intereſts,

interests, brought all their councils to nothing, and proposed to return to Lahore, to which resolution he was very much instigated by the famous Chaja Callan. Humaioon used every argument to prevent his departure; but the ambitious Camiran was determined to be every thing himself, or to give no assistance to his brother. A. D. 1540. Hig. 947.

These impolitic disputes had lasted six months, when Camiran was seized with a false appetite, which he too much indulged, and consequently became afflicted with a lientery, which he imputed to poison given him by his brothers. He immediately set out for Lahore, leaving a thousand horse with Secunder, one of his chiefs, under pretence of assisting his unfortunate brother. The inhabitants of Agra were greatly discouraged at Camiran's departure, so that many of them, fearing the issue of the war, accompanied him. Hyder, one of the posterity of Timur, disgusted with this behavior, staid behind, and joined Humaioon, to whom he was of great service.

Camiran deserts the king.

Shere, who had remained quiet during these disputes, now advanced with an army to the banks of the Gang, and detaching his son Cuttub over the river, possessed himself of the adjacent provinces. Humaioon having received intelligence of these motions, ordered Hussein the Usbeck, in conjunction with Eadgar and Secunder, against him, with a great army. They met the enemy near Calpie, where an obstinate engagement happened, in which victory declaring for the moguls, Cuttub, with a great part of his army, was cut off, and his head sent to Agra. The generals, at the same time, invited the king to come and have the honour of conquering Shere in person.

Shere advances to the Gang.

Humaioon accordingly marched with a hundred thousand horse and crossing the Gang, near Kinnoge, sat down for the space of a month

Humaioon marches against him.

A. D. 1540. Hig. 947.

month before the army of Shere, which confifted of little more than half his number. In the mean time, Mahommed Mirza, and his fons, who were remarkable for their treachery and ingratitude, fled to the enemy, with all their adherents, drawing many more after them, which again plunged the king into diftrefs; for his army being difpirited, began to defert by thoufands. To complete his misfortunes, the rainy feafon now commenced, and his camp was quite overflowed with water, infomuch that the tents feemed afloat. The king therefore refolved to move his camp to higher ground.

and is overthrown.

On the tenth of Mohirrim, nine hundred and forty-feven, he put his army in motion. He was attacked by Shere on his march, and defeated with great flaughter. Having unfortunately, as in the former action, the river then clofe to his rear, the flight turned that way, and fome thoufands, to avoid the fwords of the enemy, chofe a more ignominious death in the water. A few only efcaped with the king over the river, with whom he fled to Agra; the reft fubmitted themfelves to the conquerors, or difperfed by various routs.

Shere advances to Agra.

Shere, immediately after this victory, advanced towards Agra. The king was forced to retreat to Lahore, and on the firft of Ribbi, the firft of that year, joined the greateft part of his mogul omrahs, who had been difperfed fince the action. Shere ftill continuing the purfuit, to make the beft ufe of his victory, croffed the river of Jullanpoor, upon which the king, upon the firft of Rigib, paffed the river of Lahore, and retreated towards Tatta and Bicker, upon the Indus. Camiran, now fenfible of his ungenerous and impolitic behavior, was himfelf obliged to fly towards Cabul, and faw an empire wrefted from his family, by the effects of that bafe

envy,

envy, which could not behold even a brother's greatneſs without pain. A. D. 1541. Hig. 948.

Humaioon having croſſed the Indus, on his way to Bicker, halted at Lori, and ſent an embaſſador, with a horſe and dreſs to his couſin Huſſein, governor of Tatta, to requeſt his aid, that he might be able to poſſeſs himſelf of Guzerat. Huſſein ſeeming to liſten to his requeſt, detained the king, by various artifices and excuſes, for five months, by which means his ſmall army, diſtreſſed for want of pay, daily diminiſhed in numbers. The prince Hindal, his brother, in the mean time, left him, and went to Kandahar, being invited thither by the governor of that province. Eadgar Naſir propoſed, at the ſame time, to quit Humaioon, but the unfortunate king, took great pains to keep him firm to his intereſt, giving him the government of Bicker. But he had no ſooner taken poſſeſſion of that place, than he began to ſtrengthen himſelf againſt his ſovereign.

Humaioon's embaſſy to the governor of Tatta.

Humaioon, in the mean time, had, with his little army, laid ſiege to Sewan for ſeven months, without effect, when Huſſein, deſirous of getting the place into his own hands, advanced, with a great force, from Tatta, and ſurrounding both the garriſon and the beſiegers, prevented ſupplies from being carried to either. Humaioon's army were ſoon greatly diſtreſſed, as well as the garriſon. The king, driven to extremities, requeſted Eadgar to join him with what forces he had in Bicker; but this ungrateful man choſe rather to be prevailed upon to join Huſſein, who promiſed him his daughter, and to ſecure him in his government. He immediately deſerted the king's intereſt, at this dangerous criſis, and Humaioon was obliged to retreat precipitately from before Sewan, towards Bicker. He could not even obtain, in

His great diſtreſs.

A. D. 1541. Hig. 948.

that place, a few boats from his own perfidious ſubjects, to waft his ſmall army over the river. After a ſearch of ſome days, and wandering along the banks, he diſcovered ſome boats that had been ſunk, raiſed them, and tranſported his troops to the other ſide.

Eadgar ſubmits.

Notwithſtanding this accumulation of misfortunes, Humaioon had ſtrength enough left to ſtrike terror into Eadgar, who, to avoid his reſentment, came and made his ſubmiſſion. The neceſſity of the times obtained his pardon; but, in return for Humaioon's clemency, he began to raiſe ſedition among his troops, and privately to draw them over to his own intereſt. This treaſon being communicated to the king, the traitor, upon being taxed with it, appeared at the head of his troops, in open rebellion. But the principal officers of the rebellious faction refuſed to attack their king, ſo that an action was prevented, when both parties were formed in order of battle. The king being in no condition, at that juncture, to contend with the rebel, thought it high time to provide for his own ſafety elſewhere. He therefore marched, by the way of Jaſſelmere to Maldeo, then the moſt potent Hindoo prince in Hindoſtan, having before received an invitation from him. But as he was paſſing through the territories of Jaſſelmere, the prince of that country ſent a force to oppoſe him. The king defeated them, and paſſed on to the boundaries of Maldeo, where he halted, and ſent a meſſenger to that prince.

Raja Maldeo plots againſt Humaioon.

But few keep faith with a king, when he is under the cloud of misfortunes. Maldeo, ſeeing he had nothing to fear from Humaioon, found in his own mind no principle to love him; he therefore reſolved, if poſſible, to ſeize the king, and ſend him to the uſurper Shere. One of Maldeo's ſervants, who had formerly

lived

lived under Humaioon, having intelligence of this deſign, immediately informed the king. A. D. 1541. Hig. 948.

Humaioon mounted his horſe, at midnight, and fled towards Amercot, which is about one hundred crores from Tatta. His horſe, on the way, falling down dead with fatigue, he deſired Tirdi Beg, one of his chiefs, who was well mounted, to let him have his; but ſo ungenerous was this man, and ſo low was royalty fallen, that he refuſed to comply with his ſovereign's requeſt. The troops of Maldeo being cloſe to his heels, he was neceſſitated to mount a camel, till one Koka, diſmounting his own mother, gave the king her horſe, and placing her on a camel, ran himſelf on foot by her ſide. He flies.

The country through which they fled, being an entire ſandy deſart, the troops began to be in the utmoſt diſtreſs for water. Some ran mad, others fell down dead; nothing was heard but dreadful ſcreams and lamentations. To add, if poſſible, to this calamity, news arrived of the enemy's near approach. Humaioon ordered all thoſe who could fight to halt, and let the women and baggage move forward. The enemy not making their appearance, the king rode on in front, to ſee how it fared with his family. Night, in the mean time, coming on, the rear loſt their way, and in the morning were attacked by a party of the enemy. One of the omrahs, who adhered to the king's fortunes, named Ali, with about twenty brave men, reſolved to ſell his life dear. Having repeated the creed of martyrdom, he ruſhed upon the enemy, and the firſt arrow having reached the heart of the chief of the party, the reſt were, by the valor of this handful, put to flight. The other moguls joined in the purſuit, and took many of their camels and horſes. They then continued their march, found the king His great diſtreſs.

A. D. 1541. Hig. 948.

king fitting by a well, which he had fortunately found, and gave him an account of their adventure.

The king's dreadful situation for want of water.

Marching forward, the next day, from this well, they were more diftreffed than before, there being no water for two days journey. On the fourth day of their retreat, they fell in with another well, which was fo deep, that the only bucket they had, took a great deal of time in being wound up, and therefore a drum was beat to give notice to the people when the bucket appeared, that they might repair by turns to drink. The unhappy men were fo impatient for the water, that as foon as the firft bucket appeared, ten or twelve of them threw themfelves upon it, before it quite reached the brim of the well, by which means the rope broke, and the bucket was loft, and feveral fell headlong after it. When this fatal accident happened, the fcreams and lamentations of all became loud and dreadful. Some lolling out their tongues, rolled themfelves, in agony, on the hot fand; while others, precipitating themfelves into the well, met with an immediate, and confequently an eafier death. What did not the unhappy king feel, when he faw this terrible fituation of his few faithful friends! The next day, though they reached a brook, was not lefs fatal than the former. The camels, who had not tafted water for feveral days, now drank fo much, that the greateft part of them died. The people alfo, after drinking, complained of an oppreffion of the heart, and in about half an hour a great part of them expired.

A few, with the king, after this unheard of diftrefs, reached Amercot. The raja being a humane man, took compaffion on their misfortunes. He fpared nothing that could alleviate their miferies, or exprefs his fidelity to the king.

Akbar born.

At Amercot, upon Sunday the fifth of Rigib, in the year nine hundred and forty-nine, the prince Ackbar was brought forth, by the

the Sultana Hamida. The king, after returning thanks to God, left his family under the protection of Rana, the prince of Amercot, and, by the aid of that raja, marched against Bicker. But a mutiny arising among the troops, they dispersed, so that nothing could be effected. Some of the king's own omrahs deserted him, and the gallant Ali, one of his principal adherents, was killed in an action in which Humaioon was defeated. The king fled towards Kandahar, and was, on his way, joined by that gallant mogul chief, Byram Chan, from Guzerat. The prince Camiran had, at that time, taken the fortress of Kandahar from his brother Hindal; and Ashkari governed there by his appointment. Hussein, who governed at Tatta, changing his mind with the increase of Humaioon's misfortunes, wrote to Ashkari, that the king was in the utmost distress, and that if he would now favor him, so meritorious an action could not be forgot. Ashkari, instead of listening to this request, attacked the king when he approached, obliging him to leave behind him his young infant son, Akbar, and fly himself, with the Sultana Mariam, and only twenty-two horse, to Chorassan. Ashkari expressed great sorrow at the king's escape, and plundering all his effects, carried the young prince to Kandahar.

A. D. 1542. Hig. 949.

Humaioon being defeated, flies towards Kandahar.

The king, by repeated trials, found that he could place no faith in his brothers. When he arrived upon the frontiers of Seistan, he was met by Shamlu, who was there governor on the part of Tamasp, king of Persia. He brought Humaioon to the capital of Seistan, and treated him with the greatest respect, presenting him with all the money of which he was possessed, and furnishing the Sultana with slaves. The king received just what supplied his occasions, and returned the rest. He from thence set out for Herat, and was, in that city, met by the prince Mahommed, the king of Persia's eldest son. This prince forgot nothing of that

Is received kindly by the Persians.

gene-

A. D. 1542. Hig. 949.

generosity and politeness which so remarkably distinguished his character. He provided the unfortunate exile very effectually with all necessaries for his journey to the Persian court. In the progress of Humaioon towards the capital of Persia, all the governors of the provinces and great men paid him their compliments, and made magnificent entertainments for him. When he arrived at Kizvi, he dispatched Byram to the Persian king, at Ispahan, and waited for his answer. Let us now leave Humaioon, to give an account of the transactions in Hindostan, during his exile.

State of Asia.

Tamasp still held the scepter of Persia. The Ottomans, and their emperor Solyman, carried on a successful war against the Persians, and the Usbeck Tartars were extremely troublesome on the north-east banks of the Oxus. The frontier provinces to the north-west of the Indus remained to the house of Timur, after the expulsion of Humaioon from India.

SHERE.

A. D. 1542. Hig. 949. Shere's family.

THE original name of Shere was Ferid. His father was Huſſein, of the Soor tribe of the Afghans of Roh, a mountainous country on the confines of India and Perſia. When Beloli placed his foot on the throne of the Indian empire, the grandfather of Shere, Ibrahim, came to Delhi in queſt of military ſervice. The original ſeat of the Afghans was Roh, which, in their language, ſignifies a mountainous country. It extended, they ſay, in length, from Sewad and Bijore, to the town of Sui in the dominions of Buckuraſt, and in breadth, from Huſſin to Rabul. This tract, in its fertile vallies, contained many ſeparate tribes; among the number of theſe was that of Soor, who derive themſelves from the princes of Ghor, whoſe family held the empire after the extinction of the race of Ghizni. One of the ſons of the Ghorian family, whoſe name was Mahommed Soor, having left his native country, placed himſelf among the Afghans of Roh, and was the father of the tribe of Soor, which was eſteemed the nobleſt among them.

Ibrahim arrives at Delhi.

Ibrahim, the grandfather of Shere, arriving at Delhi, engaged himſelf in the ſervice of an omrah of the court of Beloli. When the empire fell to Secunder, the ſon of Beloli, the noble Jemmal, a chief of high renown, was appointed ſuba of Jionpoor, and he took Huſſein, the ſon of Ibrahim, in his retinue. He found him a youth of parts, and favored him ſo much, that, in a ſhort time, he gave him the diſtricts of Sehſaram and Tanda, in jagier, for which he was to maintain five hundred horſe. Huſſein had

A. D. 1542. Hig. 949.

had eight sons; Ferid and Nizam of one mother, of a Patan family; the other sons were born of slaves.

Ferid flies from his father's house.

Hussein had no great love for his wife, and he therefore neglected her sons. Ferid, upon this, left his father's house, and enlisted himself a soldier in the service of Jemmal, the governor of Jionpoor. Hussein wrote to Jemmal upon this occasion, requesting him to send back his son, that he might be educated. But all that Jemmal could say had no effect upon Ferid. Jionpoor, he said, was a better place for instruction than Sehsaram; and he affirmed that he would attend to letters of his own accord. This he did to so much purpose, that he soon could repeat the works of the celebrated poet Sadi, and was, besides, a proficient in all the learning of the country. He, however, employed most of his time in history and poetry, being supported by the liberality of Jemmal.

Is reconciled with his father,

After three or four years had elapsed, Hussein came to Jionpoor, and, by the mediation of friends, the father and son were reconciled. Hussein gave Ferid the charge of his estate, and remained himself at Jionpoor. Ferid, when he took leave of his father, said, "That the stability of government depended on justice, and that it would be his greatest care not to violate it, "either by oppressing the weak, or permitting the strong to infringe the laws with impunity." When he arrived at his jagier, he actually put this resolution in practice, by rendering justice to the poor, and reducing to order such of his zemindars as opposed his authority. He, by this means, had his revenues punctually paid, and his country well cultivated. His reputation grew apace; for all his actions discovered uncommon genius and resolution.

Hussein

Huſſein coming to viſit his eſtate, was extremely well pleaſed with the management of his ſon, and therefore continued him in his office. But the father had a favorite ſlave by whom he had three ſons, Soliman, Ahmed, and Mudda, and the old man was extremely fond of her. She told him, that now her ſon Soliman was grown up, and that he ought to provide for him. She, day after day, continued to teaze Huſſein for the ſuperintendency of the pergunnahs for Soliman. This gave the old omrah great concern, knowing the ſuperior abilities of Ferid. The ſon, hearing that the domeſtic peace of his father was deſtroyed, by the importunities of his favorite, made a voluntary reſignation of his truſt, which was accordingly conferred upon Soliman. A. D. 1542. Hig. 949.

Ferid, and his brother Nizam, ſet out immediately for Agra, and entered into the ſervice of Dowlat, one of the principal omrahs of the emperor Ibrahim. Ferid, by his good behavior, ſoon inſinuated himſelf into his maſter's affection. Dowlat, one day, deſired him to tell him what he was moſt deſirous to obtain, and that he would uſe his intereſt with the king in his favor. Ferid replied, That his father was now in his dotage, and wholly guided by an artful miſtreſs, who had deprived both himſelf and his brother of their patrimonial inheritance, and had procured their eſtate for her own ſpurious offspring. That if Dowlat would, therefore, by his intereſt at court, procure the royal grant of the eſtate in his name, he would promiſe to provide for his father, and maintain five hundred good horſe for the ſervice of the empire. Dowlat accordingly preferred this requeſt to the emperor Ibrahim, who replied, That he muſt be a bad man indeed, who reviled and undermined the intereſt of his own father. Dowlat retired in ſilence, and informed Ferid of the anſwer he had received, but comforted him with a promiſe of taking another oppor- Goes to Agra.

A. D. 1542. Hig. 949.

tunity to urge his requeſt. In the mean time, the father of Ferîd died, and Dowlat obtained the Emperor's grant, with which the two brothers ſet out to Sehſaram with a grand retinue.

His brother Soliman complains of him to Mahommed Soor.

Soliman, upon the arrival of his brothers, evacuating the country, went off to Mahommed, one of the Afghan family of Soor, and his relation, who held the diſtrict of Chond, and kept up a force of fifteen hundred horſe, and complained of the behavior of Ferîd. Mahommed told him, that Baber, intending to invade Hindoſtan, a war between him and the Emperor Ibrahim was unavoidable. That, therefore, if he ſhould accompany him when called to the imperial army, he would endeavor to get him redreſs. Soliman was too impatient to wait ſo long in ſuſpenſe. Mahommed, therefore, ſent a perſon to Ferîd, to treat about a reconciliation. Ferîd replied, That he was willing to give him a proper ſhare of his father's inheritance, but that he muſt be excuſed from parting with any of his power; repeating, at the ſame time, the old adage, That two ſwords could never reſt in one ſcabbard. Soliman could not be ſatisfied with a ſhare of the government, and therefore nothing was ſettled between the brothers. This irritated Mahommed ſo much, that he reſolved to compel Ferid to [illegible] meaſures which he himſelf had propoſed. Ferid being informed of this reſolution, began to provide for his own ſecurity; but news arriving of the Emperor Ibrahim's defeat and death, the whole country was thrown into confuſion.

He obtains the title of Shere Chan.

Ferid reſolved not to lie idle in the midſt of the troubles which enſued. He joined Pâr Chan, the ſon of Diria Lohani, who had ſubdued Behar, and aſſumed the royal dignity, under the name of Mahommed, or Mahmood. As that monarch was one day on a hunting party, he rouſed an enormous tiger; which Ferid immediately

immediately attacked and killed with one blow of his sabre. For this bold action, which was done in Mahmood's presence, he was honored with the title of Shere Chan *. Shere rose gradually to great influence and favor, in Mahmood's service. He was even appointed tutor to his son, Jellâl. He, in the mean time, requested permission to go to his estate, but he was detained there by business, till his leave of absence expired. Mahmood, dissatisfied with this behavior, reproached him, one day in public, with breach of promise; and Mahommed, of the family of Soor, being present, took that opportunity of accusing him of treasonable designs, and with favoring the interest of Mahmood, the son of the Emperor Secunder. The Sultan was, by this means, so incensed against him, that he intimated, at the time, a design to deprive him of his estate, and to confer it upon his brother Soliman, as a just punishment for his offence, and the only thing that could bring him to a proper sense of his duty. A. D. 1542. Hig. 949.

Mahmood, however, having a great esteem for Shere, against whom nothing was yet proved, laid aside the violent measure to which he was instigated by Mahommed. He, at the same time, by way of alarming him, gave orders to his accuser to inquire into his father's estate, and make an equal division of it among all the brothers. Mahommed, glad of this order, sent one of his servants to Shere to acquaint him, that his brothers, according to the King's commands, were to have their proportionable dividends of the estate which he had hitherto so unjustly with-held from them. Shere returned for answer, that Mahommed was very much mistaken in this matter. That there were no hereditary estates in India, among Mahommedans, for that all lands belonged to the Proceedings against him.

* Shere signifies a lion.

A. D. 1542. Hig. 949.

King, which he disposed of at pleasure. That as he himself had a personal grant of his estate, his brethren were entirely out of the question. That he, however, had already consented to give to his brother Soliman a part of the money and moveables, according to law.

Shere attacked.

When the messenger returned with this answer to Mahommed, who was then at Chond, he was enraged at so flat a denial, and raising all his forces, sent them against Shere, under the command of Shadi, his adopted slave, accompanied by Shere's brothers, Soliman and Ahmed. Shadi's orders were to take possession of the country, and to leave a force with Soliman, to protect him in the estate. This resolution being quickly taken, Shere had not time to collect his people; but, upon the first alarm, he wrote to one Malleck, his deputy in the district of Chawasspoor Tandah, to harrass the enemy with what troops he had, but to avoid an action till he joined him in person. But Malleck, desirous to distinguish himself, gave them battle, and lost his life and the victory. This unexpected disaster weakened Shere so much, that he was in no condition to oppose Mahommed; he therefore evacuated the country, and fled to Juneid Birlass, governor of Kurrah and Maneckpoor, on the part of the Emperor Baber. He made Birlass a handsome present, was taken into favor, and obtained a body of troops to recover his country. With these he defeated Mahommed, who fled to the mountains of Rhotas, so that he not only possessed himself of his own country, but added several other districts to his jagier, which he now held of the Mogul Emperor, Baber. Having rewarded the Moguls who had assisted him, he permitted them to return to their master. He, at the same time, levied troops, and was joined by his former friends, who had fled to the hills, which rendered him very formidable in those parts.

Defeats Mahommed.

Shere

Shere having thus eſtabliſhed himſelf in his eſtate, performed an act of generoſity, which, if it was not intended to deceive the world, does him much honor. He recalled his enemy Mahommed, who had fled, and put him in poſſeſſion of his former eſtate. This generous treatment converted his greateſt enemy into one of his beſt friends. Shere having ſettled his affairs, left his brother Nizam in charge of his country, and paid a viſit to his benefactor Juneid Birlaſs, at Kurrah. Birlaſs was then going to Agra, and Shere reſolved to accompany him thither. He was, upon this occaſion, introduced to the Emperor Baber, and attended that prince in his expedition to Chinderi. A. D. 1542. Hig. 949. His generoſity to him.

After Shere had ſtaid ſome time in the Mogul camp, and obſerved their manners and policy, he, one day, told a friend, that he thought it would be an eaſy matter to drive thoſe foreigners out of Hindoſtan. His friend aſked him, what reaſon he had to think ſo? Shere replied, "That the King himſelf, though a man of great "parts, was but very little acquainted with the policy of Hindoſtan; and that the miniſter, who held the reins of government, would be too much biaſſed in favor of his own intereſt, "to mind that of the public. That therefore if the Patans, who "were now at enmity among themſelves, could be brought to "mutual concord, the work was compleated; and ſhould fortune "ever favor him, he imagined himſelf equal to the taſk, however "difficult it might, at preſent, appear." His friend burſt out into a loud laugh, and began to ridicule this vain opinion. Shere, a few days after, had, at the King's table, ſome ſolid diſhes ſet before him, with only a ſpoon to eat them. He called for a knife, but the ſervants had orders not to ſupply him with one. Shere, not to loſe his dinner, drew his dagger, without ceremony, and cutting up his meat, made a hearty meal, without minding, His opinion concerning the Moguls.

A. D. 1542. Hig. 949.

minding those who diverted themselves at this odd behavior. When he had done, the King, who had been remarking his manner, turned to Amir Chalifa, and said, "This Afghan is not to be "disconcerted with trifles, and is likely to be a great man."

He privately withdraws.

Shere perceiving, by these words, that the King had been informed of his private discourse to his friend, fled the camp that night, and went to his own estate. He wrote from thence to his benefactor Juneid Birlass, that as Mahommed had prevailed on Mahmood, King of Behar, to send troops against his jagier, he had in haste left the King's camp, without waiting upon him for leave. He, by this means, amused Juneid Birlass, prevented his chastising him, and at the same time made up matters with Mahmood, with whom he became a greater favorite than before.

Shere manages the government of Behar.

Mahmood of Behar dying a short time after, was succeeded by his son Jellal, a minor. The young prince's mother, the Sultana Dudu, acted as regent, and conferred the principal offices in the government upon Shere. The Sultana dying soon after, the administration fell wholly into the hands of Shere. Allum, the governor of Hadgipoor, on the part of Mahmood, King of Bengal, being guilty of some misdemeanor, threw himself under Shere's protection. Mahmood, to revenge this insult, ordered Cuttub, governor of Mongier, with a great force, against Behar. As the forces of Behar were inconsiderable, in comparison of those of Bengal, Shere made many overtures for accommodating differences, but to no effect. Finding no arguments could prevail but the sword, he resolved to stand the unequal encounter, in which his superior skill and bravery acquired him a complete victory. Cuttub was

was ſlain, and all his treaſure, elephants, and camp equipage taken, which greatly advanced the political deſigns of Shere. A. D. 1542. Hig. 949.

A plot againſt his life.

After this victory, the Patan tribe of Lohani, the couſins of Jellâl, the young King of Behâr, envying the fortune of Shere, formed a conſpiracy to take away his life. Shere diſcovered the plot, taxed Jellal with it, who was privy to the conſpiracy, being very jealous of the great influence of his miniſter. He told, on this occaſion, to the young prince, that there was no neceſſity of taking ſuch a baſe method of getting quit of his ſervant, for that if he ſhould but once ſignify his inclination, Shere was ready to reſign that government, which he lately ſo ſucceſsfully protected. The prince, either ſuſpecting his ſincerity, or being equally ſuſpicious of the other omrahs, would, by no means, conſent to his reſignation. This ſo much diſguſted the conſpirators, that they took every poſſible meaſure to make a breach between the prince and his miniſter. Shere, finding that he had no ſecurity, but in maintaining his power, by the unlimited uſe he made of it, juſtly excited the prince's jealouſy to ſuch a pitch, that, one night, accompanied by his omrahs, he fled to Mahmood, of Bengal, and implored his aid to expel Shere, who had uſurped his throne.

Mahmood of Bengal attacks Shere.

Mahmood, joining his compaſſion for the young prince, to his perſonal hatred to Shere, ſent Ibrahim, the ſon of that Cuttub whom Shere had formerly defeated, with a conſiderable army againſt the uſurper. The Bengalians beſieged Shere in a mud fort, for a long time, without ſucceſs; ſo that Ibrahim was obliged to ſend home for ſuccours. Shere, being informed of this circumſtance, came out, offered battle, and, by means of a common ſtratagem, ordering his troops to fly at the firſt onſet, to draw the enemy into an ambuſh, defeated them, and took all their guns and

elephants.

A. D. 1542. Hig. 949.

elephants. Ibrahim himſelf was ſlain in the action, and the young prince Jellâl fled in great diſtreſs to Bengal.

All Behar ſubmits to him.

Shere, by this victory, became lord of all Behar, and grew daily more and more formidable. One Taji was, at this time, governor of the ſtrong fort of Chinâr, which he had held for himſelf ever ſince the death of Ibrahim Lodi, Emperor of Hindoſtan. His wife Ladi Malleki, who was barren, yet for whom he had a very great affection, being envied by his other wives, by whom he had children, they inſtigated their ſons to make away with her. But one of the ſons, who had undertaken the murder, miſſed his blow, and only inflicted a ſlight wound. Taji, alarmed by her cries, came to her aſſiſtance, and drew his ſword to kill his ſon. The ſon, ſeeing no means to eſcape, aſſaulted his father, and ſlew him. The ſons of Taji were yet too young to be entruſted with the government, and Ladi Malleki drew the reins into her own hands, by her addreſs among the chiefs and zemindars. Shere, informed of theſe tranſactions, ſet a treaty of marriage on foot with Ladi Malleki, which was ſoon concluded. Shere ſeized upon Chinâr and the dependant diſtricts, which was a great acquiſition to his power, there being a conſiderable treaſure in the place.

Much about this time, Mahmood, the ſon of the Emperor Secunder Lodi, having taken protection with Rana Sinka, by his aſſiſtance, and that of Haſſen of Mewat, advanced againſt the Emperor Baber, and was defeated, as we have already ſeen, at Janveh. Mahmood, flying to Chitor, was from thence invited by the chiefs of the tribe of Lodi, who were gathered together at Patna, and by them proclaimed King. He made himſelf ſoon maſter of all Behar. Shere perceiving that he could not draw the omrahs over from Mahmood's intereſt, and that he had not ſuffi-

cient

cient force to oppose him, submitted to his authority, and, by that means, saved a part of Behar, which the Sultan permitted him to retain. Mahmood told him, at the same time, that if he should effectually assist him in recovering Jionpoor from the Moguls, he would return Behar to him; and a contract to that effect was drawn up and executed between them. A. D. 1542. Hig. 949.

Shere, some time after, obtained leave to return to Sehssaram, to levy troops, and Mahmood marching, with an army, against the Moguls, sent him orders to join. But as Shere delayed for some time, the Sultan, persuaded by his omrahs that he was playing a loose game, marched his army through Shere's estate, on his way to Jionpoor. Shere came out to meet him, had an elegant entertainment provided for his reception, and then marched with him to Jionpoor. The troops of the Emperor Humaioon evacuated the province upon their approach, so that the Afghans took possession of the country as far as Lucknore.

Shere obtains leave to visit his jagier.

Humaioon lay, at this time, before Callinger, and having heard of the progress of the Afghans, he marched against them. Mahmood having, on this occasion, given a superior command to Bein Baezîd, Shere, who thought himself ill-used, betrayed his master, and wrote a private letter, the night before the action, to Hindoo Beg, one of the Mogul generals, acquainting him, "That he "esteemed himself a servant of Baber's family, to whom he owed "his advancement, and that he would be the cause of defeating "the Afghans next day." He drew off his troops in the action, which occasioned Mahmood's defeat, for which service he was greatly favored by Humaioon. Mahmood, after this defeat, retreated to Patna, retired from the world, and, in the year nine hundred and forty nine, died in Orissa.

He betrays Mahmood.

A. D. 1542. Hig. 949.

Refuses to give up Chinâr to Humaioon.

Humaioon, after this victory, returned to Agra, and ſent the noble Hindoo Beg to Shere, to take poſſeſſion of the fort of Chinâr. Shere excuſed himſelf, and obliged Hindoo Beg to retreat. Humaioon returned immediately with his whole army to beſiege Chinâr, and, having inveſted it, he received a letter from Shere, acquainting him, " That he eſteemed himſelf one of the ſervants " of the houſe of Baber, from whom he firſt obtained a govern- " ment; and that he had expreſſed his fidelity, by being the " occaſion of the late victory. That, therefore, if the King would " permit him to retain the government of the fort, he was willing " to pay him the proper revenues of the lands which he held, and " would ſend his ſon, Cuttub, with five hundred horſe, to be main- " tained at his own expence, in the emperor's ſervice." As at this juncture the affairs of Guzerat, by the conqueſts of Bahadur, required the King's preſence, and conſidering alſo the ſtrength of Chinâr, Humaioon conſented to theſe terms, and, accordingly, being joined by Cuttub, the ſon of Shere, with five hundred horſe, he marched towards Bahadur. The King, however, had ſcarcely reached Guzerat, when Cuttub deſerted with his horſe, and returned to his father. Shere immediately raiſed what forces he could, and reduced Behar. Not ſatisfied with his ſucceſs, he purſued his fortune, and penetrated into the heart of Bengal, having fought with the omrahs of that country ſeveral ſharp battles, before he could make himſelf maſter of the paſſes, which were defended a whole month.

Beſieges Gour.

Mahmood of Bengal ſhut himſelf up in Gour, the capital, which Shere for a long time beſieged. One of the zemindars of Behar having raiſed a diſturbance, he left Chawaſs to carry on the ſiege, and returned himſelf to Behar. Proviſions becoming at length very ſcarce in Gour, Mahmood fled in a boat to Hadjipoor;

and Shere, having ſettled affairs in Behar, returned and purſued him. Mahmood being neceſſitated to give battle, was defeated, and being wounded in the engagement, fled his kingdom, which immediately fell into the hands of the conqueror. A. D. 1542. Hig. 949.

Humaioon, returning from his expedition to Guzerat, thought it neceſſary to put a ſtop to the riſing power of Shere. He for that purpoſe turned towards the reduction of Chinâr. Jellal, a ſon of Shere, who commanded there, left the defence of the place to Ghazi, of the Soor tribe of Afghans, and retired to the hills of Bercundah, from whence he very much annoyed the beſiegers. The ſiege had been carried on ſix months, when Rumi Chan, who commanded the King's artillery, by ſome kind of a floating battery, which he ſent down the river cloſe to the wall, reduced the place. Humaioon left two hundred ſoldiers in garriſon there, and marched towards Bengal. Mahmood, who, as we have already obſerved, was wounded in the action with Shere, threw himſelf under the protection of Humaioon. When the King had advanced to the paſs of Gurhi, which is the frontier of Bengal, he found that Shere had ſent his ſon Jellal, Chawaſs, and a good detachment, to guard that defile. The King ſent Kulli, and ſome other chiefs, to diſlodge them; but they were repulſed in ſeveral attacks. Being, however, ſupported by more troops, and the whole army appearing in ſight, a ſucceſsful aſſault was made, and the Moguls became maſters of the paſs. Jellal fled to his father Shere at Gour, who, being in no condition to engage ſo ſuperior a force, evacuated that capital, carried off all his wealth to the mountains of Jarcund, and begun to project a ſcheme for poſſeſſing himſelf of Rhotas, that he might there lodge his family and wealth in ſecurity. Humaioon turns his arms againſt him.

A. D. 1542.
Hig. 949.
Shere, by a ſtratagem, takes the impregnable fortreſs of Rhotas.

To take Rhotas by open force was an impoſſible attempt. It was therefore neceſſary to deviſe ſome ſtratagem, by which ſucceſs might be hoped. Shere, for this purpoſe, ſent a meſſage to Raja Berkis, who was in poſſeſſion of this impregnable fortreſs, and told him, "That as he himſelf was going to attempt the recovery of Bengal, he hoped, from their former friendſhip, that he would permit him to ſend his family and treaſure into the place, with a few attendants." Berkis at firſt rejected this requeſt, but Shere ſent an artful embaſſador to him, a ſecond time, with ſome handſome preſents, acquainting him, "That it was only for his women and treaſure he requeſted his princely protection: That ſhould he be fortunate enough to conquer Bengal, he would make proper acknowledgements for the favor on his return; but if he ſhould loſe his life in the conteſt, he rather choſe that his family and wealth ſhould fall into the hands of Berkis, than into thoſe of the Moguls, his inveterate enemies." Berkis, ſuffering himſelf to be deluded by his avarice, determined, when once in poſſeſſion of the treaſure, to keep it, and therefore conſented to Shere's requeſt. The Afghan having provided covered chairs *, filled them all, except two or three, which were to go firſt, with armed men and arms. He, at the ſame time, filled five hundred money bags with leaden bullets, and appointed ſome of his beſt ſoldiers to carry them, in the diſguiſe of ſlaves, with ſticks in their hands, who were deſtined in appearance to help to carry the treaſure up the mountain. The men, who carried the cloſe chairs, were diſguiſed in the ſame manner. This train accordingly ſet out, and the firſt and ſecond chair being examined at the gate, were found to contain only old women, ſo further examination was neglected. The raja was, in the mean time, buſy in counting the bags, which he now reckoned part of his own fortune. When the chairs had

* The ſame with our ſedan chairs.

reached

reached the houſe which the raja had appointed, the wolves ruſhed out among the ſheep, and begun to dye the fold with their blood. The porters uſed their ſtaves, till they ſupplied themſelves with arms from the chairs. They eaſily maſtered the garriſon, who were off their guard, and admitted Shere, who was encamped at a ſmall diſtance. Berkis himſelf, with a few followers, found means to eſcape into the woods, by a private paſſage behind the fort. A. D. 1542. Hig. 949.

Thus fell one of the moſt impregnable fortreſſes in the world into the hands of Shere, together with much treaſure, which had been accumulating there for ages. The merit of the invention of this ſtratagem is not due to Shere. The fort of Aſere, in the Decan, was, long before, taken in the ſame manner by Naſir Faroki, the imperial governor of Chandez.

Deſcription of Rhotas.

Rhotas is built upon the level top of a mountain; the only entrance to it is a very narrow road, through a ſteep aſcent of two miles, from the foot of the hill to the gates, which are three in number, one above another, defended by guns and rolling-ſtones. The ſquare contents of the fortified table land, on the top of the mountain, is more than ten miles. In this ſpace are contained towns, villages, and corn fields, and water is found a few feet from the ſurface. On one ſide runs the river Sone, under an immenſe precipice, and another river, in the ſame manner, paſſes cloſe to the other ſide, and both meeting a little below, form the hill into a triangular peninſula. There is a very deep valley on the third ſide, full of impervious woods, which ſpread all over the mountains, and render acceſs that way next to impoſſible.

Shere

Shere had now a ſecure retreat for his family, and his friends began to acquire freſh ſpirits by this piece of ſucceſs. Humaioon, in

A. D. 1542. Hig. 949.

in the mean time, ſpent three months in luxurious pleaſures, in Gour, the capital of Bengal. He there received advices that his brother prince Hindal, had revolted in his governments of Agra and Mewat; that he had put to death Shech Phoul, the only man of conſequence, who would not break his allegiance to the emperor, and coined money in his own name. Humaioon therefore left Kulli, with five thouſand horſe, in Gour, and returned towards Agra.

Overthrows Humaioon.

By the exceſſive rains and bad roads, the king's cavalry and beaſts of burthen periſhed in great numbers, on his march, through fatigue and want of forage. Shere, who had now raiſed a numerous army, entrenched himſelf on the banks of the Joſſa, in a place by which the king muſt of neceſſity paſs, and, by treachery, defeated him with great ſlaughter, in the manner which we have already related. Shere did not immediately puſh forward to the capital. Anxious to leave no enemy behind him, he returned to Bengal, engaged Kulli in ſeveral battles, defeated him, and, at length, cut him and his army to pieces.

Aſſumes the imperial title.

Shere, immediately after the reduction of Bengal, aſſumed the imperial title of Shaw, ſtruck the coin, and read the chutba, in his own name. He marched, the next year, with a great army, towards Agra. The unfortunate Humaioon was, by this time, deſerted by his brother the prince Camiran, and hated by his Mogul omrahs, on account of his attention to his Turkuman mercenaries. He, however, croſſed the river with one hundred thouſand horſe, and met Shere, who had but fifty thouſand. Shere, as we have already mentioned, defeated Humaioon, and purſued him to Agra, Lahore, and Choſhâb; from which place the king retreated towards the Indus.

Iſmaiel,

Iſmaiel, Ghazi, Fatti, and Billoca Duda, all governors of various provinces in that country, acknowledged the title of Shere. In his progreſs, obſerving a hill, among the mountains of Balnat, proper for a fortreſs, he ordered one to be built, which he named Rhotas. Chawaſs Chan, his faithful ſervant, to whoſe bravery and conduct he owned himſelf greatly indebted for his fortune, was now made captain general, with a penſion of a tenth of the royal revenue. A. D. 1542. Hig. 949.

Reduces the ſuba of Bengal.

Having left the captain general, and Hybut Neazi, with a great army, in the north weſt, the emperor Shere returned towards Agra. He was in that city informed, that Chizer, whom he had left in the government of Bengal, had married the daughter of Mahmood, the former King of that province, and held the ſtate of a ſovereign prince. Having experienced, in his own fortune, the danger of permitting ſuch behavior to go unpuniſhed, he marched immediately to Bengal. Chizer being unexpectedly ſurprized, ſubmitted without trouble, and was impriſoned. Shere very prudently divided the kingdom of Bengal among a number of chiefs, independent of one another, and appointed Kaſi Fazilit, a native of Kurrah, famous for his learning and policy, to ſuperintend the whole. He himſelf, after theſe tranſactions, retired to Agra.

Reduces Malava.

In the year nine hundred and forty nine, Shere made a motion towards Malava. Having advanced as far as Gualier, Suja the Afghan, who had before inveſted the place, on the part of Shere, found means to ſettle matters with Abul Caſim, governor of Gualier for Humaioon, and he delivered up that ſtrong fortreſs into his hands. Shere having entered Malava, Mullu the Mogul, governor of that province, ſubmitted without a blow. Being, however, a few

A. D. 1543. Hig. 950.

few days after, alarmed by fomething, he fled from the king's camp, and Hadjee Chan was appointed to that government; Suja had alfo a jagier conferred upon him in that country. Shere having marched from thence to Rintimpore, Mullu fell upon the governor of Malava, and upon Suja, but he was defeated. Suja having acquired all the honor of the victory, Hadjee was fuperfeded and recalled, and the government conferred upon Suja.

Takes Rintimpore.

Shere arriving before Rintimpore, had the addrefs to get poffeffion of that important fortrefs, from the governor, on the part of the pretended emperor Mahmood, who had ftill kept it. The emperor, after taking Rintimpore, returned to Agra. He remained in that city a whole year, fettling the internal police of the empire, and regulating his army. He, in the mean time, ordered Hybut to wreft Moultan from the tribe of the Bellochies. This Hybut foon effected by defeating Fatti Bellochi, and entirely fubduing that country. He had, on account of this exploit, the title of Azim Humaioon conferred upon him.

He marches againft Raja Paran, for keeping two thoufand concubines.

In the year nine hundred and fifty, Paran Mull, the fon of Sucdeo Parbia, having reduced fome neighbouring diftricts, kept no lefs than two thoufand concubines and dancing girls in his haram. The king, refenting this incroachment upon the privileges of royalty, marched and invefted him in the fort of Rafein. The fiege being protracted for a long time, Paran began to treat about a capitulation. This was granted to him upon the honorable terms of marching out, with all his arms, treafure, family, garrifon, and effects. Paran accordingly marched out with four thoufand rajaputs, and, trufting to the faith which had been pledged, encamped at a fmall diftance. But Shere, who never kept the faith of treaties, was eafily perfuaded, by his bafe minifters, particularly

tairly by Amir Ruffi a Perfian, infamoufly to violate his honor. He furrounded the rajaputs, and ordered them all to be maffacred. He, however, paid very dear for this horrid piece of cruelty and treachery. The rajaputs, placing death in one eye and revenge in the other, fought till every man of them was laid dead on the plain, and above double their number of the affaffins. A.D. 1543. Hg. 950.

Shere, after this infamous tranfaction, returned to Agra. Having remained there a few months, to refrefh and recruit his army, he marched towards Marwâr. During his march he intrenched himfelf every night, as well for fecurity, as to exercife his troops, and to make them expert in this neceffary fervice. When he came to crofs the fands, he formed redoubts all round him with gabions. In this manner he entered the country of the raja of Nagor and Todnoor, whofe name was Maldeo, and efteemed the moft powerful Hindoo prince in India. He oppofed the king, with fifty thoufand rajaputs, and both armies lay thirty days in fight of one another. Shere would now have been glad to retreat quietly. But the danger was too great, at the fame time the enemy was fo advantageoufly pofted as to render an attack too hazardous. In the midft of this alarming fituation, a fuccefsful ftratagem fuggefted itfelf to the king. Maldeo having conquered that country, to which he had no right by inheritance, Shere forged a letter, in the Hindoo language and character, in the name of the raja's generals, addreffed to himfelf, fetting forth, "That, being conquered by the raja, they had, through neceffity, ferved him till then with fidelity; but that they were, in fecret, very weary of his yoke. That if Shere would, therefore, reinftate them in their former poffeffions, they were willing to make him a due acknowledgement for the favor." On this letter Shere fuperfcribed, as ufual, in Perfian, that they fhould fear nothing, defiring them to He marches towards Marwâr,

A. D. 1544. Hig. 951. persevere in their intentions, and that they might rest assured, that he would comply with their demand.

Gallant proposal of a Rajaput omrah.

This letter was purposely thrown into the way of Maldeo, who, being always in dread of his chiefs, was easily deceived. He therefore declined the battle, which he intended to give that day. He was even more and more confirmed in his unjust suspicion, by the eagerness which they expressed to engage. Upon the fourth day he ordered a retreat; but Cunia, one of his principal omrahs, having found out in what manner Maldeo had been deceived by these forgeries, endeavoured to persuade him of his mistake. Having found that the raja's suspicions could not be removed, he told him, That the suspected treachery was unprecedented among true Rajaputs, and that he was determined to wipe off the stain which Maldeo had thrown upon their reputation, with his own blood, or the conquest of Shere, with his own tribe.

With his own tribe and attacks Shere.

Maldeo continued to retreat, but the gallant Cunia, with a few other chiefs, and ten or twelve thousand men separated themselves from their prince and turned back, with an intent to surprize Shere's camp. They, however, by some mistake, lost their way, and it was fair day light before they saw the enemy. Shere immediately formed, and came out against them. Though the king's army, by the smallest computation, consisted of eighty thousand fighting men, this handful of brave Rajaputs repulsed them repeatedly, and would have certainly defeated them, if Jellal Selwani had not at that instant arrived with a fresh reinforcement, to join the imperial army. Shere falling upon the Rajaputs with renewed vigor, broke them; and the brave Cunia, with almost his whole army, were cut to pieces.

Shere

Shere, finding himself in possession of a victory of which he had at one time despaired, exclaimed, "That, for a handful of "barley, he had almost given the Empire of India to the wind." This grain, it seems, was all the scanty produce of that sandy country, for which the inhabitants fought with so much obstinacy. Maldeo having heard of this action, and the loss of so many brave men, fell into deep affliction; and being, for his pusillanimity, deserted by the greatest part of his army, he retreated among the mountains of Sodpoor.

A. D. 1545. Hig. 952. Remarkable saying of Shere.

Shere, after this bloody victory, turned his army towards the fort of Chitor, which was surrendered to him by capitulation. He then directed his march to Rintimpore, and gave that country in jagier to his son Adil Chan, who fixed his residence there. The King, in person, moved towards Callinger, which is esteemed one of the strongest forts in Hindostan. The Indian prince of Callinger, on account of the king's treacherous behavior to Paran Mull, would make no submission, but prepared himself for hostilities. Shere, having drawn a line of circumvallation, begun to carry on his approaches to the place; he raised mounds of earth for his artillery, and sunk mines under the rock. The royal batteries were now advanced very near the walls, breaches were made, and a general assault ordered, when a live shell, which had been thrown against the fort by the imperialists, rebounded back into the battery in which the king stood. The shell burst in the midst of a quantity of powder, which had not been properly secured. Several gunners were blown up; the king, and many of his omrahs, were burnt in so terrible a manner, that they were carried for dead to their tents.

Shere takes Chitor,

Burnt by the blowing up of powder.

In this dreadful condition the king began to breathe, in great agonies; he, however, encouraged the continuance of the attack, and

Dies.

A. D. 1545. Hig. 952.

and gave orders, till in the evening news was brought him of the reduction of the place. He then cried out, "Thanks to the Al-" mighty God," and expired. The death of Shere happened on the twelfth of the first Ribbi, in the year nine hundred and fifty two. He spent fifteen years in a military life before he mounted the throne; and he sat upon the musnud five years, as emperor of Hindostan.

His character.

The character of Shere is almost equally divided between virtue and vice. Public justice prevailed in the kingdom, while private acts of treachery dishonoured the hands of the king. He seemed to have made breach of faith a royal property, which he would by no means permit his subjects to share with him. We ought, perhaps, to ascribe this vice to the ambition of Shere. Had he been born to the throne, he might have been just, as he was valiant and politic in war: Had he confined his mind to his estate, he might merit the character of a virtuous chief; but his great soul made him look up to the empire, and he cared not by what steps he was to ascend.

His magnificence.

Shere left many monuments of his magnificence behind him. From Bengal and Sennargaum, to that branch of the Indus called the Nilâb, which is fifteen hundred crores *, he built caravanserais at every stage, and dug a well at the end of every crore. Besides, he raised many magnificent mosques for the worship of God on the highway, wherein he appointed readers of the Koran and Priests. He ordered that at every stage, all travellers, without distinction of country or religion, should be entertained, according to their quality, at the public expence. He, at the same time, planted rows of fruit trees along the roads, to preserve

* About three thousand of our miles.

travellers

travellers from the ſcorching heat of the ſun, as well as to gratify their taſte. Horſe-poſts were placed at proper diſtances, for forwarding quick intelligence to government, and for the advantage of trade and correſpondence. This eſtabliſhment was new in India. Such was the public ſecurity during his reign, that travellers and merchants, throwing down their goods, went without fear to ſleep on the highway. A. D. 1545. Hig. 952.

His attention to buſineſs.

It is ſaid that Shere being told that his beard grew white, replied, It was true, that he had obtained the empire towards the evening. He divided his time into four equal parts: One he appropriated to the diſtribution of public juſtice, one to the regulations of his army, one to worſhip, and the remainder to reſt and recreation. He was buried at Seſſaram, his original eſtate, in a magnificent ſepulchre which he had built in the middle of a great reſervoir of water *.

State of Aſia.

Tamaſp ſtill ſat on the throne of Perſia, and reigned in peace, during the uſurpation of Shere in Hindoſtan.

* This fine monument of the magnificence of Shere ſtill remains entire. The artificial lake, which ſurrounds it, is not much leſs than a mile in length.

S E L I M.

A. D. 1545.
Hig. 952.

Jellal mounts the throne by the name of Selim.

WHEN Shere became numbered with the dead, his eldest son, Adil, whom he had appointed his successor, was at Rintimpore, and his younger son, Jellâl, in the village of Rewin, near Pheta. The omrahs, who favored Jellâl more than his brother, then at so great a distance, pretended the necessity of filling the throne as soon as possible. They, for that purpose, dispatched expresses to Jellâl, who arrived in five days in the camp. Jellal, by the influence of Isah Chan, and his party, mounted the throne, in the fortress of Callinger, upon the seventeenth of the first Ribbi, in the year nine hundred and fifty two, and assumed the title of Islam Shaw, which, by false pronunciation, was turned to that of Selim, by which name he is more generally known. Selim, having taken upon him the imperial dignity, wrote to his elder brother, in the following words: "Adil being at so great a distance, and I "so near, to prevent disturbance, I took upon me the command "of the army till his return. But my intentions are only to for-"ward my brother's interest, and to support his authority." Jellal, after writing this letter, marched from Callinger towards Agra, and at Kurrah was met by Chawass, captain general of his father's forces, who renewed the ceremonies of royalty, and placed Selim a second time on the throne, holding a magnificent festival upon that occasion. From Kurrah, Selim wrote another letter to his brother, begging in the most affectionate terms, that he would come and see him.

His elder brother writes about the succession.

Adil wrote to the chiefs in the court of Selim, particularly to Cuttub, Isah, Chawass, and Jellal Selwani, to know to what purpose he was invited, and what he was to hope from them. He,

at the ſame time, returned to his brother for anſwer, "That, if he "would ſend theſe four chiefs to him, with proper aſſurances, he "would come." Selim ſent accordingly the four omrahs to Adil, to aſſure him, in the moſt ſolemn manner, that he would permit him, if he pleaſed, to depart after the firſt interview: But that, as the omrahs had inveſted him with the imperial power, he could not be ſo ungrateful as to deſert them. However, to make ſome compenſation to Adil, for the empire, he was determined to give him his choice of any of the provinces in free jagier. Adil, upon theſe aſſurances, proceeded to Agra. When he had reached the village of Sikri *, Selim was out on a hunting party, near that place, and appointed carpets to be ſpread for their interview. Here the brothers diſſembled the greateſt affection for one another, and after ſome diſcourſe ſet out for Agra. Selim, who wanted to ſeize his brother, gave private orders, that only a few of his retinue ſhould be admitted into the citadel; but Adil had alſo given orders to his people to preſs in, at all hazards, which they accordingly did, in ſpite of every oppoſition. A. D. 1545. Hig. 952.

Selim ſaw, that, without running a great riſque, nothing could be effected againſt his brother, who was ſo much upon his guard. He, therefore, had recourſe to flattery and diſſimulation. He even proceeded ſo far, as to lay hold of Adil's hand, to place him upon the throne. Adil, who was naturally a timorous and indolent man, rejected this propoſal, knowing how little he had to truſt from the omrahs, and a deceitful, ambitious brother. Selim was well aware of all this before he made this extraordinary offer. Tranſactions in the palace.

Juſt as Selim expected, ſo it fell out; Adil, intimidated by the diſturbance which had been made at the gate, made a voluntary Adil makes a ſolemn reſignation of the empire.

* Now Fattepoor.

reſignation

A. D. 1545. Hig. 952.

resignation of his birthright, and placing Selim on the throne, saluted him emperor. This was instantly followed by all the court, who were waiting with impatience the issue of this extraordinary farce. They immediately advanced to the throne in succession, and, according to their rank, presented their nazirs *, while others exhibited the ceremony of the isar †, crying out aloud, "We offer "our lives and fortunes to the king." The ceremonies being ended, Cuttub, and the other omrahs, who had passed their words to Adil, requested, that, as he had pitched upon Biana for his estate, he, according to promise, should be regularly invested with that province, and permitted to depart. Selim consented, and all matters being settled, he gave Adil leave to quit Agra, accompanied by Isah and Chawass.

Chawass kindles a rebellion in favor of Adil.

But after two months, Selim gave to Ghazi Mahli, one of his eunuchs, a pair of golden fetters, to go and bring Adil prisoner to court. Adil, having timeous intelligence of this design against him, set out for Mewat, where the captain general then resided. He acquainted that omrah, with tears, of his brother's baseness. Chawass, whose honor was concerned in this affair, was rouzed with compassion for the unfortunate prince. He seized upon Ghazi Mahli, placed his fetters upon his own legs, and exalted the spear of rebellion against Selim.

The interest of Chawass was great among the omrahs. He wrote to them private letters, and brought many over to his party. A great army was soon raised, and Chawass, with Adil and Isah,

* Offerings made upon public occasions to the emperor.

† Isar, or Tessiduck, is a ceremony used upon the accession of a prince to the throne; the omrahs running three times round the king, waving an offering of money, in a charger, three times over the monarch's head. This money is afterwards delivered over to the royal almoner, to be distributed in charity, as indeed are all offerings made to the emperor.

marched

marched towards Agra. He, upon his way, received letters from Cuttub and Jellal, who thought themſelves diſhonored by the king's behavior towards his brother, aſſuring him of their aſſiſtance. A. D. 1545. Hig. 952.

Selim in great perplexity.

When the confederate chiefs arrived before Agra, Selim, at the unexpected viſit, was thrown into the utmoſt perplexity. He called Cuttub and Jellal to his preſence, and reproached them for not diſſuading him from that impolitic ſtep which had drawn upon him ſuch dangerous conſequences. Cuttub replied, "That the buſineſs was not yet irremediable; that he would undertake to ſettle every thing in an amicable manner." Selim not ſuſpecting the fidelity of the two omrahs, immediately deſired that they ſhould go to Adil, and compromiſe affairs. When they were gone, Selim diſcovered to his friends his intentions of flying to Chinâr, where the treaſure was lodged, and there to raiſe an army to reduce his brother, whom he was not at preſent in a condition to oppoſe. Iſah Hujâb diſſuaded him from this reſolution. He told him, "That he had with him ten thouſand Chermalli Patans, who had ſerved under him before he aſcended the throne, whom he could not ſuſpect of diſaffection, beſides many other faithful ſervants. That therefore, it was the height of folly, to truſt the empire, which God had given him, to the future caprice of fortune, when he had it in his power to defend it inſtantly in the field. Do not, ſaid Iſah, throw away the friends whom you have acquired in your proſperity, with a vain hope to pick up others in the ſeaſon of diſtreſs. The wiſeſt courſe for you, continued the omrah, is to appear at the head of your troops, and to fix the foot of reſolution on the field of war. This will ſecure your wavering troops, and intimidate the enemy."

Overthrows his brother.

Selim, encouraged by this bold advice, reſolved to ſtand his ground. He immediately diſpatched a meſſage to Cuttub, and the

A. D. 1545. Hig. 952.

the other omrahs, who had not yet set out, to accommodate matters with Adil, and commanded them to his presence. He told them, That having altered his mind, he was resolved not to trust his faithful omrahs in the hands of his enemies. He forthwith ordered his troops to their arms, marched out of the city, and formed his army on the plain. The omrahs, who had promised to favor the prince Adil, seeing their king in the field, ashamed to betray him, were necessitated to fight, which greatly disconcerted Chawass, who, every minute, expected they would join him. He, however, fought with great bravery, but he was overthrown.

Adil disappears.

Adil, after this unfortunate battle, fled towards Patna, but he soon disappeared, and was never heard of afterwards. Chawass and Isah, fled to Mewât. Selim sent an army in pursuit of those omrahs, but they came off victorious, at Firospoor. The imperial army being soon after reinforced, the rebel chiefs were obliged to retreat among the mountains of Cumaoon. Selim sent Cuttub in pursuit of them, and he plundered all the countries lying about the skirts of the hills, without effecting any thing against them. Selim, after these transactions, marched to Chinâr. On the way, he was informed of the treasonable correspondence of Jellal with the prince Adil, before the late decisive battle, and ordered him to be put to death, together with his brother, who was concerned in the conspiracy. The king having arrived at Chinâr, he took out of that fortress all the treasure, sent it to Gualier, and returned himself to Agra. Cuttub, finding that Selim was no stranger to the part which he had acted in the late disturbances, was afraid to return to court. He fled, therefore, to Hybut governor of Lahore, known by the title of Azim Humaioon, and claimed his protection. The emperor dispatched orders to Lahore, to send Cuttub to Agra, with which Azim Humaioon complied. The unfortunate Cuttub, upon his arrival, was sent prisoner to Gualier, with many other suspected

pected

pected persons, particularly Shebas Lohani, the king's brother-in-law, whose eyes were put out. The governor of Lahore and Suja, who ruled over the province of Malava, were, much about this time, called to court. The first excused himself, and the latter, obeying the summons, had the address to clear himself of what he was accused, and so was reinstated in his government. A. D. 1545. Hig. 952.

Rebellions quashed.

The king, after these transactions, moved towards Rhotas, to bring the treasure, which his father had deposited in that place, to Agra. Seid, the brother of Humaioon, governor of Lahore, deserted him on the way, and fled to Lahore. The king, from this circumstance, concluded that a rebellion was in agitation, which determined him to return immediately to Agra. He soon assembled his forces from all quarters, and marched to Delhi, where he ordered the new city which the emperor Humaioon had built, to be walled in with stone. At Delhi, Suja joined him with the army from Malava. The king remained only a few days in Delhi to regulate his army, and then took the rout of Lahore. Azim Humaioon, Chawass, and other disaffected chiefs, with double the king's forces, came out before him at Ambatta. Selim arriving within sight of the rebels, dismounted, and, with a few friends, ascended a rising ground for the purpose of reconnoitring; when he had for some time viewed their disposition, he said: "It is not consistent with my honor to have any patience with a rebellious army," and, at these words, he ordered his line to be formed, and to advance against them. It happened very fortunately for the affairs of Selim, that, upon the preceding night, there had arisen a dispute among the rebel generals, about the succession to the throne. Chawass still a friend to the family of his patron Shere, insisted that search should be made for prince Adil, and Azim Humaioon strenuously affirmed, "That the empire was no man's inheritance, but should always follow the fortune of the sword." This plainly pointed out his own

A. D. 1548. Hig. 955.

own views. On this head, animoſity and faction aroſe, ſo that as ſoon as the rebels had formed the line, Chawaſs retreated, with all his troops, without ſtriking a blow. This circumſtance ſo much diſcouraged the remaining part of the rebels, that their reſiſtance was faint, and an unexpected victory fell to Selim.

An attempt upon the life of Selim.

But, in the midſt of this tide of good fortune, the emperor narrowly eſcaped with his life, from a daring attempt of Seid, the brother of Azim Humaioon. This gallant chief, with ten of his friends in armor, mixed, without diſcovery, with the king's troops, and advanced towards him, as if they were about to congratulate him upon his victory. An elephant-driver, who ſtood near the king, obſerved and knew Seid, and ſtruck him with his ſpear: Yet, in ſpite of all the guards, and the army which ſtood round, Seid and his party cut their way through, ſword in hand, and eſcaped. The rebels, who called themſelves the Neazies, being moſtly of that family, retreated, after this defeat, to Dincot, near Rop, in the mountains, Selim purſuing them as far as the new fort of Rhotas, which his father had built. He, from thence, detached Chaja Serwani, with a ſtrong force after them, and returned himſelf to Agra, and from thence ſoon after proceeded to Gualier. Suja, governor of Malava, going one day up to the fort before the king, one Oſmân, a perſon whom Suja had deprived of his right hand ſome time before, had concealed himſelf by the ſide of the road, with a deſperate intention to be revenged upon that omrah. The aſſaſſin ruſhed out upon Suja, and inflicted a wound with his dagger. Suja, without enquiring into the matter, imagined that the whole was done by the inſtigation of the king, and therefore fled, with great precipitation, and made his way towards Malava, with all his forces. The king purſued him as far as Mundu, but hearing that he had fled to Banſwalla, he returned, leaving his own couſin, with twenty thouſand horſe, at Ugein, to obſerve

observe his motions. This happened in the year nine hundred and fifty four. A. D. 1548. Hig. 955.

Chaja defeated by the Neazi rebels.

Chaja Serwani having been some time before left to carry on the war against the Neazi rebels, engaged them near Dincot, and was defeated by Azim Humaioon, who pursued him as far as Sirhind. Selim hearing of this defeat, assembled a great army, and dispatched it, under proper generals, against the rebels. Azim Humaioon was obliged to retreat in his turn to Dincot. The rebels turned upon the imperial army at Simbollo, but were overthrown with great slaughter. Azim Humaioon's mother, and all his family, were taken prisoners. The Neazi rebels, after this defeat, threw themselves under the protection of the Gickers among the mountains bordering on Cashmire. Selim, finding that he could never have rest in peace without effectually quashing this rebellion, marched in person towards the Indus, and, for the space of two years, carried on a war with the Gickers who supported the Neazies.

An attempt upon Selim's life.

In this expedition a person concealed himself in the narrow path, by which the emperor one day ascended the mountain of Mannicot, and rushed upon him with a drawn sword. Selim, having time to draw, saved himself, and killed the assassin, and perceived that his sword was one that he himself had formerly presented to Eckbal Chan. The Gickers being driven from one place to another, without being in a condition to face the emperor, Azim Humaioon, with his followers, went into the kingdom of Cashmire; but the prince of that country, fearing Selim's resentment, opposed the rebels, and, having defeated them, sent the heads of Azim Humaioon, his brother Seid, and Shabass to the king. Selim being now secured against further disturbance from that quarter, returned to Delhi. The prince Camiran, much about

A. D. 1550. Hig. 957.

about this time, flying from his brother the emperor Humaioon, who was now on his way from Persia, took protection under Selim. But he was very ill received by that prince, and he therefore fled to the mountains of Sewalic, among the Gickers.

Selim marches against Humaioon,

Selim, after returning from his expedition, had only remained a few days at Delhi, when he received advices, that the emperor Humaioon had reached that branch of the Indus which is distinguished, by the name of the Nilâb, or the blue river. The king was at that instant drawing blood by cupping; he immediately started up, issued orders to march, and he himself encamped, that evening, six miles without the city. He there waited for his artillery, which was dragged by men, till the bullocks, which were grazing in the country, could be brought together. The artillery being very heavy, each gun was drawn by one or two thousand men; yet, in this manner, he marched, with great expedition, towards Lahore. But, in the mean time, Humaioon retreated, as we shall have occasion to mention in the sequel. Selim returned to Delhi, and from thence proceeded to Gualier, where he took up his residence.

A plot against Selim's life.

Selim taking, one day, the diversion of the chace, near Atri, a body of banditti, who had been set on by some of the king's enemies, lay in ambush, to take his life. But he perceived them time enough to avoid the snare. When they were seized and examined, they impeached many chiefs who were immediately executed, after which the king became extremely suspicious, and put numbers to death upon small presumptions.

Chawass assassinate.

Chawass, the captain general of the armies of Shere, of whom frequent mention has already been made, a man justly renowned for personal courage, strict honor, great abilities in war, and extensive generosity, being long driven about from place to place,

came to Taji Kirrani, who had owed his preferment to him, and was now governed by Simbol. The ungrateful villain, in violation of his oath, and the laws of hospitality, to ingratiate himself with Selim, basely assassinated Chawass. His body being carried to Delhi, was there interred. His tomb is frequented by the devout to this day, they numbering him among the saints. A. D. 1551. Hig. 958.

Not long after this base assassination, in which Selim was concerned, he was seized with a fistula in ano, by which, in the year nine hundred and sixty, he bled to death, having reigned nine years. In the same year, Mahmood the Patan King of Guzerat, and the Nizam of the Decan, who was of the same nation died. Selim possessed not the abilities of his father, and consequently carried neither his virtues nor his vices to such extremes. He, in some measure, suited the times in which he lived; and was rather a necessary than a good prince. A man of an upright mind might have staggered in the stream of corruption, which then prevailed, but Selim stood firm, by meeting the world in its own way. He possessed personal bravery, and was not unskilful in the field of war. Like Shere, he was magnificent, and studied the convenience of travellers. From Bengal to the Indus, he built an intermediate serai, between each of those which his father had erected; all who passed along the great road being entertained at the public expence.

Selim dies.

His character.

In the reign of Selim, Shech Allai, a philosopher of Biana, made a great noise in the world, by introducing a new system of religion. He called himself Emam Mendi, who is believed by some to be the last of the prophets, and will conquer the world. The impostor having raised great disturbances in the empire, converted some thousands by force and persuasion. After being twice banished by Selim, he returned, and kindled fresh troubles, and

A. D. 1552. Hig. 960.

was, in the year nine hundred and fifty five, ſcourged to death at Agra, by order of the king. He remained firm to his doctrine in the agonies of death; but his religion was not long maintained by his diſciples.

Feroſe mounts the throne.

When Selim travelled the road of mortality, his ſon, Feroſe, was, at twelve years of age, raiſed to the throne, by the chiefs of the tribe of Soor at Gualier. He had not reigned three days, when Mubarick, the ſon of Nizam Soor, nephew to the late Emperor Shere, brother of Selim's wife, and the uncle of Feroſe, aſſaſſinated the young prince. Mubarick aſſumed the title of Mahommed Adil *, to which his infamous treaſon had no right, and uſurped the empire. He perpetrated this barbarous deed with his own hand, in the Mahl. The villain's own ſiſter, Bibi Bai, defended, for ſome time, her ſon in her arms, preſenting her body to the dagger. In vain did ſhe intreat and weep: the wretch was hardened againſt pity. He tore the young prince from her arms, and, in her preſence, ſever[illegible] his head from his body. This was the return which he made to the unfortunate Bibi Bai, for ſaving his life, repeated times, when Selim, foreſeeing his villainies, would have put him to death.

Is barbarouſly murdered.

State of Aſia.

The ſtate of Perſia ſuffered no change, during the reign of Selim in India. Tamaſp continued upon the throne.

* Adil ſignifies *the Juſt*.

MAHOMMED VI.

THE infamous Mahommed, having always given himſelf up to pleaſure, neglected even the common accompliſhment of reading and writing. He hated men of learning, and kept company with illiterate fellows like himſelf, whom he raiſed to the higheſt dignities in the empire, among whom one Himu, an Indian ſhop-keeper, whom the Emperor Selim had raiſed to be ſuperintendant of the markets, was now entruſted with all the weight of the adminiſtration.

A. D. 1552. Hig. 960. Mahommed illiterate.

The King, in the mean time, heedleſs of what paſſed, ſpent his time in all the luxurious debaucheries of the Haram. Having heard much in praiſe of ſome of the former Emperors, particularly Feroſe, for their great generoſity, he miſtook prodigality for that virtue, and to outdo them all, opened the treaſury, and laviſhed it on good and bad, without diſtinction. When he rode out, he uſed to head arrows with gold, which he ſhot among the multitude. This fooliſh extravagance ſoon made away with the great treaſures of his predeceſſors; and all his reward from the people was the nickname of Adili; which, in the Indian language, ſignifies literally the Blind, and metaphorically, the Fooliſh.

His fooliſh prodigality.

When Himu found himſelf inveſted with the whole executive power of the empire, his pride and inſolence, though otherwiſe a man of good parts, exceeded all bounds. This naturally made all the Patan chiefs his enemies. They began to conſpire for his deſtruction, and to revolt from his authority. The King became more and more deſpicable, every day, in the eyes of the people, while all order and government totally declined. Mahommed giving, one day, public audience, and diſtributing eſtates and governments among his omrahs, he ordered the province of Kinnoge to be taken from Firmalli, and given to Sermuſt Sir-bunna.

The omrahs diſcontented.

A. D. 1552. Hig. 960.

bunna. Secunder, the ſon of Firmalli, a brave young man, being preſent, ſaid aloud to the Emperor, "Is my fortune, then, to be "conferred on a ſeller of dogs?" for it appears that Sermuſt was deſcended of one of that low occupation. The elder Firmalli, who was alſo preſent, endeavored to check the impetuoſity of his ſon; but he only inflamed his paſſion the more: He charged the King, in plain terms, with a baſe deſign to extirpate his family. Sermuſt, who was a man of uncommon ſtrength and ſtature, ſeeing this behavior to the King, and being alſo perſonally affronted, ſeized Secunder by the breaſt; Secunder drew his dagger, and killed him on the ſpot. He then flew at all thoſe who endeavored to oppoſe him, killed ſeveral chiefs, and wounded many more. He then made directly for the King, who leapt from the throne, and ran into the Mahl. Secunder purſuing him, had the door ſtruck in his face, which ſtopped his progreſs, till Mahommed drew the bolt, and ſecured himſelf. The deſperate youth, finding himſelf diſappointed in his deſign upon Mahommed, reſolved to revenge himſelf upon his baſe minions, and ruſhing back into the audience chamber, dealt death to all who oppoſed him. In the mean time, Ibrahim of the tribe of Soor, the King's couſin and brother-in-law, attacked Secunder with ſome of his people, and cut him to pieces. Dowlat Lohani killed, at the ſame time, the good old man, Firmalli, who could not have been blamed for his ſon's raſhneſs.

Taji withdraws from court.

The unfortunate Firmalli having met Taji Kerrani, as he was going that day to the preſence chamber, he aſked that omrah whither he was going; to which the other replied, "That affairs had taken ſuch an extraordinary turn, at court, that he was determined to puſh his own fortune, and would be glad that Firmalli would partake it with him." Firmalli anſwered, "That he aſpired to no fortune but what he poſſeſſed by favor of the crown, for which he was going to pay his compliments;" but ſuch as we have ſeen

was

was his reward. Taji, as soon as he got out of the fort, took the way of Bengal, with all his dependants. Troops were dispatched to pursue him; they came up with him at Chuppera Mow, about eighty miles from Agra, where he fought them, and made good his retreat to Chinâr. He, in his progress, seized the public money, and other effects belonging to the crown; and distributed one hundred elephants among his brothers, and other relations, who had possessions in the province of Bujipoor. By their assistance he raised a formidable army, which obliged the King to take the field, and march towards Chinâr. The insurgents meeting him upon the banks of the Ganges, above Chinâr, they were defeated and dispersed. A. D. 1553. Hig. 961.

The King, becoming jealous of the popularity of Ibrahim Soor, gave private orders to seize him; but his wife, who was sister to the King, having heard of this design in the Mahl, told her husband of it. He fled from Chinâr to his father, Ghazi, governor of Biana, and was pursued by Isah Neazi, who coming up with him at Calpee, an engagement ensued, in which Isah was defeated, and driven back from further pursuit. Ibrahim, soon after, raised a great army, and possessed himself of the city of Delhi, where he mounted the throne, assumed the ensigns of royalty, marched to Agra, and reduced the circumjacent provinces. The King jealous of Ibrahim's popularity.

Mahommed marched from Chinâr to suppress this usurpation, and, on the way, received an embassy from Ibrahim, promising that if he would send Hussein, and other chiefs, with assurances of forgiveness, he would submit. The King was weak enough to comply with his request. The omrahs went; and Ibrahim, by presents, promises, and courteous behavior, soon drew them over to his own interest. Mahommed, finding himself in no condition to oppose so strong a confederacy, fled towards Chinâr, and contented himself with the eastern provinces. Ibrahim immediately erected the spear of empire in the west, by the title of Sultan Ibrahim. Mahommed deserted by his omrahs.

IBRAHIM III.

A. D. 1552. Hig. 961. A competitor in Punjab assumes the royal title.

IBRAHIM had no sooner mounted the throne, than another competitor started up in the province of the five rivers, known by the name of Punjâb. This was Ahmed, a nephew of the Emperor Shere, and also brother-in-law to Mahommed, the expelled Emperor. Ahmed having attached to himself Hybut, and other chiefs raised to the dignity of omrahs, by the late Emperor Selim, to his interest, assumed the title of Secunder Shaw, and marching with ten or twelve thousand horse towards Agra, encamped at Firrah, within four miles of that city. Ibrahim, with seventy thousand horse, came out to meet him, having, in this army, two hundred omrahs who pitched velvet tents, and possessed the dignities of the spear, drum, and colours.

Secunder, seeing this formidable army, began to repent of his invasion, and made overtures of peace. The only condition he asked, was the government of Punjâb. But Ibrahim, puffed up with the pride of his own superiority, would grant him no terms, and therefore both armies drew up and engaged. Secunder committed all the ensigns of royalty to one of his omrahs, and, with a choice body of horse, took post among some trees, where he could not be discovered. Ibrahim, upon the first charge, broke through the army of Secunder; his troops quitted their ranks, and were intent upon nothing but plunder; when Secunder, rushing out upon them, struck a panic into the whole army; they immediately took to flight, and were pursued by those whom they had so easily discomfited before. The Emperor Ibrahim, after this defeat, abandoned his capital, and retreated to Simbol. Secunder took possession both of Agra and Delhi; but he had not long enjoyed

joyed his fortune, when he was obliged to march to Punjâb, to oppose the Mogul Emperor Humaioon; for that monarch, having returned from a long exile, was now advancing to recover his dominions.

A. D. 1554. Hig. 962.

During the absence of Secunder, the Emperor Ibrahim marched towards Calpee; and, at the same time, Mahommed, the expelled Emperor, dispatched Himu, his vizier, with a formidable army, well appointed in cavalry, elephants, and artillery, from Chinâr, with a view to recover his empire. Himu engaged Ibrahim at Calpee, and gave him a signal defeat. Ibrahim, flying to his father at Biana, was pursued by Himu, who besieged him in that city, for three months.

Himu overthrows Ibrahim.

In the mean time, Mahummud of the Afghan family of Ghor, governor of Bengal, rebelled against Mahommed, and led an army against him. This circumstance obliged that prince to recall Himu from the siege of Biana; and the Emperor Ibrahim, emboldened by the retreat of the enemy, pursued them, and coming up with Himu at Mindakir, near Agra, gave him battle; but he was again defeated, and obliged to fly back to his father, at Biana. The restless spirit of Ibrahim could not, however, be still: He marched towards Bhetah, and engaging the Indian prince of that country, was defeated and taken prisoner. He was used with the utmost respect, till the Patans of Miani obtained him from the Raja, and appointed him their chief. Under him they commenced a war against Bahadar, governor of Malava, who had assumed independance; but the bad fortune of Ibrahim still pursued him, he was beat, and fled to Orissa. That province being conquered in the year nine hundred and seventy five, by Solimân Kerrani, one of the generals of the Mogul Emperor Akbar, the unfortunate Ibrahim was taken and put to death.

The governor of Bengal rebels.

A. D. 1554.
Hig. 962.

Himu defeats and slays the governor of Bengal.

To return from this digression; when Himu joined his master Mahommed at Chinâr, he received advices that the Emperor Humaioon had defeated Secunder, the pretended Patan Emperor, and possessed himself of Delhi and Agra. Himu, however, marched against the revolted governor of Bengal, who gave him the slip, by crossing the hills near Rhotas, and entering the country of Bundelcund. He was pursued thither by Himu: The two armies came to action at the village of Chircut, thirty miles from Calpee, and the rebel was slain. Mahommed, after this victory, instead of proceeding to Agra, returned to Chinâr, to assemble more troops for carrying on the war with Humaioon. But he was soon after informed of that monarch's death; which induced him to send Himu, with fifty thousand horse, and five hundred elephants, towards Agra, not daring to leave Chinâr himself, on account of the violent factions which then subsisted among his countrymen the Patans.

Drives the Moguls from Agra, and from Delhi.

Himu arriving before Agra, the Mogul omrahs who were there, being too weak to oppose him, fled to Delhi. He pursued them thither, and Tirdi Beg, governor of Delhi, giving him battle, was defeated, and fled towards the Indus, leaving Himu in possession of both the imperial cities of Agra and Delhi. The Indian meditated the conquest of Lahore; but the celebrated Byram, of the nation of the Turkumans, a man of policy in the closet, as well as abilities in the field, who had been left by the will of Humaioon, guardian of his son Akbar, during his nonage, sent Zemân, a Mogul noble, with all expedition, towards Delhi. He himself followed, with the young King. Himu marched out to meet Zeman, drew up on the plains of Panniput, and charging the Moguls with great bravery, threw them into disorder. But the Patans, always more mindful of plunder, than of securing victory,

tory, were again attacked by the Moguls, and defeated. Himu was ſurrounded, and taken priſoner, and being carried before the King, condemned to death.

A. D. 1554. Hig. 962.

The fortune of Mahommed declines.

After the death of the unfortunate Himu, who had certainly great abilities, notwithſtanding his mean deſcent, the fortune of his maſter Mahommed declined apace. In the mean time, Chizer, the ſon of the governor of Bengal, who was ſlain in battle by Himu, to revenge the death of his father, raiſed an army, and aſſuming the title of Sultan Bahadar, poſſeſſed himſelf of a great part of the eaſtern provinces. He led an army againſt Mahommed, defeated, and ſlew him. The anarchy and confuſions in Hindoſtan, at this period, rendered it impoſſible to continue the direct chain of our hiſtory in the order of time. We therefore muſt turn back to what we have omitted of the hiſtory of Secunder, who had aſſumed the imperial title at Agra, and afterwards to a detail of the adventures of Humaioon, during his exile.

He is defeated and ſlain.

Secunder's ſpeech to the omrahs.

Secunder, after having aſcended the throne of Agra, in the year nine hundred and ſixty-two, made a magnificent feſtival, and calling together all his chiefs, ſpoke to them to this effect: "I eſteem myſelf as one of you, having thus far acted for the "common weal. I claim no ſuperiority. Beloli raiſed the tribe "of Lodi to an uncommon height of glory and reputation; Shere, "by unparalleled conduct and reſolution, rendered the tribe of "Soor famous to all poſterity; and now, Humaioon, heir to his "father's conqueſts, is watching for an opportunity to deſtroy us "all. If, therefore, you ſincerely affect my government, and will "throw aſide private faction and animoſities, our kingdom will be "adorned with all the flowers of proſperity. But if you ſhould "think me incapable of that great charge, let an abler head, and "a ſtronger arm, be elected from among you, that I alſo may

A. D. 1554. Hig. 962.

"swear allegiance to him; that with my life and fortune I may "support him, and endeavor to keep the empire of India in the "hands of the Patans, who have ruled it for so many ages by "their valor." The omrahs, after hearing this speech, answered with one accord, "We unanimously elect you, the nephew of our "Emperor Shere, for our lawful sovereign." Calling then for a Coran, all swore allegiance to Secunder, and to preserve unanimity among themselves. However, in a few days, they began to dispute about governments, honors, and places. The flames of enmity were kindled higher than ever, and every one reproached his fellow with perfidy, of which he himself was equally guilty.

They elect him King.

He is repeatedly defeated by the Moguls.

Humaioon, in the mean time, marched from Cabul and the side of Persia towards the Indus. Tatar, who commanded for the Patans in Punjab, fled from the new fort of Rhotas, to Delhi, and the Moguls subdued all the country as far as Lahore. Secunder, upon receiving these advices, sent forty thousand horse, under the command of Tatar and Hybut, to expel the Moguls. But this army was defeated, lost all their elephants and baggage, never drawing bridle, till they arrived at Delhi. Secunder, though sensible of the disaffection and factious state of his army, marched with eighty thousand horse towards Punjab, and engaging Byram, the tutor of prince Akbar, near Sirhind, was defeated, and fled towards the mountains of Sewalic. The empire of India, with this victory, fell again into the hands of the house of Baber, and flourished; while, in the mean time, the infamous Mahommed Adil died by the hands of his enemies, in the kingdom of Bengal.

HUMAI-